Daily Report

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Alia Greets Kosovo on Conclusion of Referendum

AU0810171391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Letter from President Ramiz Alia to Iljaz Ramajli, chairman of the Kosovo Assembly, written on 8 October]

[Text] Dear Chairman,

I have the pleasure in this letter, on behalf of the people of Albania, to hail the successful conclusion of the referendum by which the Republic of Kosovo declares itself a sovereign and independent state with the right to take part as a constitutive element in the community of sovereign state-republics in Yugoslavia on the basis of the full freedom and equality of the associated republic-states.

The Republic of Albania recognizes this decision as legitimate, bearing in mind that the principle of self-determination is a right recognized by the CSCE and UN documents. This act will contribute to the peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav question, for which the international community and especially the Conference of The Hague are working.

At the same time, I assure you that the Republic of Albania will give all its support to the Republic of Kosovo to enable it to be recognized and accepted as widely as possible by the international public.

Respected chairman, accept my fraternal greetings.

[signed] Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania

Alia on Economic Problems, Political Prospects

AU0810124491 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 8 Oct 91

["Exclusive" interview with Albanian President Ramiz Alia by Doris Steusser in Tirana; date not given—recorded; Alia speaks in Albanian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Steusser] President Alia, how do you see the situation of Albania today? What are its biggest problems?

[Alia] Albania is going through a period of profound change. In the past, it was guided centralistically; today it is pluralistic. The economy is moving from a planned economy toward a market economy. The most important thing is that we have a democratic legislature. There are 10 new parties in the country; five of them participate in the government of national stability. There are no political prisoners in the prisons anymore. The people who were politically persecuted in the past were not only rehabilitated but even declared innocent.

However, the political changes have taken place more quickly than the economic ones. Therefore, it is the government's main task to bring about economic stability in the country.

[Steusser] But how can the economic situation be stabilized, in your view?

[Alia] The most important help will be provided by Albania itself. The country is rich in human and material resources. There are raw materials, such as chromium, crude oil, iron, and coal; there is water for energy production, a favorable climate for agriculture, and the location on the sea, which is interesting for tourism. I think one might envy us.

However, the efforts of our people will not be enough. We need massive support from other countries, above all, the EC, the other states in Europe such as Austria, and also the United States.

[Steusser] How could these states help best?

[Alia] Europe now gives us humanitarian aid, for which we are very grateful, but humanitarian aid does not solve our problems. We need investments to create jobs and to stop the exodus of young people. The legislature has already passed the laws that provide the necessary guarantees to foreign investors.

[Steusser] President Alia, why did these economic problems develop?

[Alia] The policy of concentrating on one's own forces led to the country's complete isolation. The collectivization of agriculture did establish equality, but it prevented any independent initiative. In addition, there was the restriction of human rights, which hindered development.

[Steusser] Could this crisis have been avoided, if the reforms of the past months had been carried out earlier? And when should they have taken place?

[Alia] About 15 years ago, after the break with China, there was a time when the country should have opened up toward Europe.

[Steusser] Is this criticism of your predecessor Enver Hoxha?

[Alia] Yes, of course, this is criticism. Many of the processes should have taken place earlier. However, one also has to see the reality of the country. Democratic developments need a basis, a political culture, tolerance, and patience. Now, however, many things should proceed more quickly. The government should be more active because the current state of instability must be overcome as quickly as possible, in particular because the situation outside Albania is dangerous. I mainly think of the war in our neighboring country Yugoslavia.

[Steusser] Mr. Alia, will you still be president after the next elections?

[Alia] I was elected by the legislature for five years; therefore, I am independent of the elections. However, I will certainly not run again after this term of office. If, after the next elections, the legislature finds a candidate who is better for the country, I will accept that, too.

Alia Meets With Party Representatives

AU0810180191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Sokol Perihati]

[Text] At 1200 today, Mr. Bashkim Hoxha, representative of the President's Press Office, gave a news conference for journalists from our press, radio, and television about yesterday's consultative meeting between President Ramiz Alia and leaders of the political parties participating in the National Stability Government.

Mr. Bashkim Hoxha first spoke about the function of the Press Office within the Office of the President of the Republic and said that this office is part of the recent democratic changes in our country and aims to be as open as possible with the press and to give direct information to journalists about the president's official activities.

Mr. Bashkim Hoxha then told journalists in more detail about the second part of yesterday's meeting between the president and leaders of the political parties. This part of the meeting discussed certain problems raised by the main opposition parties, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Social Democratic Party.

The first problem concerned these parties' demands relating to the work done by the Ministry of Public Order and the National Intelligence Service to dissociate themselves from the former State Security Service. Public Order Minister Bajram Yzeiri and Irakli Kocollari, chairman of the National Intelligence Service, reported on this problem. They said that this process is under way and that final conclusions cannot yet be drawn. Nevertheless, good work has already been done to replace a substantial proportion of the former State Security Service's personnel. However, the problem of local operatives still remains. Those attending the meeting decided that a legislative commission including representatives of the parties unrepresented in the legislature, such as the Republican and the Social Democratic Parties and so forth, will carry out a full inspection within two weeks. This commission will have full authority and the right to study the files of employees of the former State Security Service and of high-level officials and members of the government who may have had links to this body. The results of this commission's work as well as the question of the employment of former State Security Service employees will be open to the public so that it will be impossible to create any new organism outside the structures of the state and beyond their control.

The second problem discussed at yesterday's meeting was the thorough renewal of the staff of the Foreign Ministry. All sides agreed that there had been serious delays in this area. Professional ability and not party allegiance will be the basic criterion for staff appointments in the future. It was decided to select as ambassadors personalities of culture with new and up-to-date thinking, who are not compromised by the past. The government was entrusted with the task of analyzing the problem of the Foreign Ministry. The prime minister will report to the roundtable of the political parties within 10 days.

The third problem concerned the dismissal of the directors of Radio-Television, and there was a great deal of discussion of this point. All sides had reservations about the three directors of Radio-Television. It was decided that the Radio-Television Directorate, together with the Independent Trade Unions, will present to the Legislative Press Commission within 10 days a plan outlining the structure, program, and statute of Radio-Television. This institution was also asked to genuinely shed its party character, and it must be decided to whom Radio-Television is legally answerable.

Another demand analyzed at yesterday's meeting was the reexamination of national symbols and coats of arms. President Ramiz Alia here expressed the view that this reexamination should be conducted solely through legal and constitutional means—that is, only by the legislature or by a people's referendum. It was stressed at the meeting that this problem could also be worked out in the new Constitution that will be submitted in draft form in November.

The last item to be discussed yesterday afternoon was the opposition parties' demand for an acceleration of the process of bringing before the courts former state and party leaders implicated in financial scandals and corruption. It was pointed out that there has been procrastination in this area and that this has sensitized the people, who are waiting to see those who plundered their wealth in the dock as soon as possible. In connection with this, Zamir Shtylla, deputy chairman of the Investigator-General's Office, informed those present that charges have so far been raised against 11 persons, and four of those have been arrested. However, according to the procurator-general, technical problems are hampering the further conduct of the investigations. The Finance Ministry submitted a further report documenting corruption in the cases of two more persons a few days ago and intends to prepare a report about the last 10 years. These new documents submitted by the Finance Ministry, according to procedure, must be verified by the Investigator's Office, which could prolong the investigation. It was nevertheless agreed that these matters should be pursued urgently and in a correct legal manner and that investigations must be completed as thoroughly and as quickly as possible, while avoiding pressures on the investigators. It was also stressed that this process should not assume a political character but should remain a legal matter so that the former leaders will answer to the law and receive the punishment they deserve.

At the end of the news conference, Mr. Bashkim Hoxha replied to journalists' questions. The meeting was said to have taken place in a spirit of constructive and useful dialogue.

Bufi Departs for International Peace Meeting in Malta

AU0810142991 Tirana ATA in English 1301 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 8 (ATA)—At the invitation of the premier of the Republic of Malta, Eddie Fenech Adami, a governmental delegation headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania, Ylli Bufi, left for Malta on October 8. It will take part in the international meeting on peace, to be held in this country on October 8-10. This important activity will be attended also by other senior personalities from various countries of the world. Premier Ylli Bufi is accompanied by the minister of culture, youth and sports, Prec Zogaj.

Present at the airport to see off the delegation headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, were the deputy premier, Zydi Pepa; the secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Teodor Kareco; the minister for foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri; and others.

Socialist Party Disowns Nexhmija Hoxha

AU0710161591 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—In an interview with the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, the chairman of the Steering Committee of the Socialist Party for Tirana city, Halil Lalaj, said, among other things: The party's dissociation from Nexhmije Hoxha is of fundamental reason. It is Nexhmije Hoxha the first who dissociated herself from the mass of the honest and rank-and-file people, the members of the Party of Labour. She dissociated herself with the way she lived, thought and acted. The representatives of this honest mass came to the 10th Congress, where they decided the transition from the Party of Labour to the Socialist Party. She was the only one to express herself against this transition. As it is a common knowledge, her contribution in the congress found a cold reaction and her implication that this congress should defend Enver Hoxha found no approval. This is the truth. I deem it proper to say this, as it is frequently repeated in the opposition press that the 10th Congress was a congress of Enverists. The delegates to that congress aimed neither to defend Enver Hoxha nor to disgrace him. Regarding this point they came to this congress to place this figure in its deserved place.

Due to all these, Nexhmije Hoxha could neither come to the Socialist Party nor could the latter admit her.

There is only one truth which was stated in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT since July, when this newspaper carried some data about privileges and abuses by the Hoxha family. It seems to me that dissociation from these abusive acts is expressed in a clear-cut way. In brief, N. Hoxha is not at all a member of the Socialist Party.

Agrarian Party Criticizes Government's Policies

AU0810215991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] A declaration by the Agrarian Party states that the Agrarian Party, closely following current developments in the countryside, has observed that the pluralist government is acting slowly and clumsily in restructuring the countryside on the basis of the privatization of the economy.

The Agrarian Party suggests that the Land Law should be enforced in accordance with the characteristics and psychology of different regions of the country. The state must quickly help the peasantry through the bank and with agricultural machinery. The countryside's economic infrastructure, which is continually being destroyed, must be urgently placed at the disposal of peasants according to criteria to be decided by the villages themselves. Measures must be taken to stop the exodus of livestock abroad at a time when the market is empty. One problem requiring an urgent solution is the reemployment of specialists, to which the government has not devoted the proper attention. The aid coming from abroad must also be distributed in the countryside, especially in the northeastern region.

Positive Reaction to Declaration on SFRY Noted

AU0810173991 Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—The international public welcomes the declaration of the Bulgarian Government made on October 5, in which it is stated that the government is ready to receive foreign observers to monitor the country's western border, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the office of the president, told a BTA reporter today.

Mr. Trifonov announced that the decision for the government's declaration was adopted last Saturday at a sitting of the National Security Council chaired by President Zhelyu Zhelev. The attendants considered the proposal made by Mr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Agrarians, to invite UN observers to monitor the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border.

The government and the president have not yet addressed the European Community or other European and international institutions with such a request, Mr. Trifonov explained. At the present stage it is considered enough to declare such readiness, he said.

IMRO-UMS Denounces 'Serbian Chauvinists'

AU0810214891 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies (IMRO-UMS) stated today that the organization cannot remain indifferent to the "threats made by the Serbian chauvinists to occupy Macedonia and turn it into southern Serbia."

Nobody has the right to trench upon the will for sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia its population expressed in the referendum of September 8 although the Serbian tanks held it at gun point, it is said in the IMRO-UMS declaration received at BTA today. Such an act is not only an impermissible violation of the peoples' right to decide their own future and their own way of life, but it would pose a real threat to peace in the region, it is said in the document.

As representatives of the Bulgarian refugees, the IMRO-UMS feels obliged to declare to the chauvinists in Belgrade that Macedonia is not alone in its struggle for freedom and independence. It will be given support by the international public and by patriotic Bulgarians all over the world. The IMRO-UMS will render all-round assistance to its brothers in their struggle for freedom and independence, it is declared in the document. Assurance is expressed that the Republic of Macedonia will be independent and free.

International Seminar on Ruse Pollution Planned

AU0810184191 Sofia BTA in English 1659 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Ruse, October 8 (BTA)—The Bulgarian-Romanian Environmental Commission met in Ruse today. Its members discussed some last details in connection with the organization of an international seminar on the subject of the condition and the prospects for the protection of the environment in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. The commission approved the report which is to be sent to UNEP [UN Environment Program] and the European Community through the Foreign Ministries of the two countries. These international organizations will study it and will send their experts to the ecological forum.

The seminar on the problems of the Ruse-Giurgiu area, the schedule for which was approved at today's meeting, will be held on November 11-15 in the two Danubian towns.

The commission considered the ways of controlling continuously the air pollution in the area, an agreement for which was reached during Prime Minister Dimitur Popov's visit to Giurgiu on September 30.

Talks Held With Romania on Environmental Issues

AU0810215291 Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Petyo Petkov]

[Text] Bucharest, October 8 (BTA)—The ministers of the environment of Bulgaria and Romania, Mr. Dimitur Vodenicharov and Mr. Valeriu Eugen Pop, coordinated the text of an intergovernmental convention on environment protection today. This document will serve as a basis for solving the problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu region and in the borderline regions between the two countries. It is presumed that the convention will be signed in Sofia after it is endorsed by the Bulgarian Government.

The two ministers decided to set up an Intergovernmental Commission on Environmental Issues with three sub-commissions: on the Ruse-Giurgiu region, on nuclear safety and on the River Danube.

Experts of the two countries will meet in Ruse on October 8 and 9 to coordinate a joint method for monitoring the content of harmful substances in the air.

The two sides analyzed the situation at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant on the basis of the IAEA report. The Romanian side renewed its invitation for Bulgarian experts to visit the building site of the Cherna Voda Nuclear Power Plant. Romanian experts will visit the Kozloduy N-Plant.

The two ministers of the environment signed a joint letter to the EC Commission in which they expressed

their satisfaction over the adoption of a project within the framework of the PHARE Programme for exercising control over the environment along the Danube and above all in the Ruse-Giurgiu region. So far the EC has granted 300,000 ECU [European Currency Unit] for the implementation of the first stage of the project which the citizens of Ruse associate with the fulfillment of their hopes to breathe fresh air.

Mr. Dimitur Vodenicharov was received by the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. At the meeting Mr. Petre Roman, who has handed in his resignation as prime minister, expressed his conviction that the changes in the Romanian Government and the forthcoming elections in Bulgaria will not impede the solution of the existing environmental problems.

SDS Bonn Visit 'Extremely Satisfactory'

AU0810214691 Sofia BTA in English 2053 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—The leadership of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the ruling party in Germany, sees in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] the force that will rule Bulgaria after the elections, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, told journalists upon his return from Germany, where he led an SDS delegation on a two-day visit. He said that the talks the delegation had with political leaders of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union (CSU) were very useful for the promotion of the relations of the SDS with Germany's ruling party.

The visit was paid at the invitation of CDU leader Helmut Kohl. The Bulgarian delegation met Mr. Volker Ruehe, secterary general of the CDU, Mr. Alfred Dreger, floor leader of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, and Mr. Klaus Franke, Bundestag member responsible for relations with the East European countries. The talks with Mr. Joseph Teising, director general of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, were especially useful. The sounding out of attitudes and the exchange of views on the development of the processes in Bulgaria give ground to SDS leader Filip Dimitrov to define the results of the visit as extremely satisfactory.

One of the important problems which was discussed at the talks was the possibility of rendering expert assistance in carrying out the Bulgarian privatization project by providing German specialists. The possibility of opening a university in Bulgaria was also considered. At this establishment, German teachers in law would train Bulgarian students.

The CDU leaders expressed their hope that the election victory of the SDS would bring Bulgaria closer to the West European democracies more quickly. In this light the possibilities were discussed of Bulgaria's association to the European Community by 1994, Mr. Dimitrov said.

Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Party, said he is pleased with the discussion of plans for cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, one of the biggest in the world.

BSP Ministers Assess Government Activities

AU0710171891 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—"We joined this government fully aware of the responsibility, and we are pleased with our work, in a so complicated, largely crucial period for Bulgaria, Dimitur Popov's cabinet played a key stabilizing role," Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy prime minister and deputy chairman of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], said on behalf of the Socialist Party ministers. Today he and the minister of foreign economic relations, Mr. Atanas Paparizov (also from the BSP), held a special press conference on the work of the BSP ministers.

According to Mr. Tomov, ten months after the forma tion of Mr. Popov's cabinet one might say it has achieved considerable results. First of all, it managed to survive, although at the price of numerous compromises, both by the BSP ministers and the representatives of other political forces. Had the government been unseated then, that would have triggered off a destabilizing chain reaction, Mr. Tomov pointed out.

He singled out several key elements of the reform in which the socialist members of the cabinet are engaged: The reform in the Army and the Police, the structural changes in the state apparatus and the maintaining of social stability—the main purpose of the establishment of a coalition government and the launch of the economic reform.

At the same time, Mr. Tomov voiced the discontent of the BSP representatives in the cabinet over the delay of the second, structural adjustment stage of the economic reform. In his opinion, despite the lack of a privatization act, the cabinet has missed a number of opportunities to start this process, at least with the small-scale privatization. Mr. Tomov blamed the delay of the structural reform on its concentration in a "superministry." Last week, though, the ministers from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]—Mr. Ivan Kostov, Mr. Ivan Pushkarov and Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev—accused the BSP representatives in the government with the delay of the structural part of the economic reform.

According to Mr. Tomov, Socialists in the government also oppose the wholesale application of the tough monetary measures against all manufacturers. They believe in the need of a differentiated approach.

The BSP wants a strong government after the elections, Mr. Tomov said. He pointed out that the BSP would not enter a coalition cabinet with the "ultra-right." The BSP has no advance plans for the distribution of portfolios, it will depend on the election results, he pointed out.

CPSU CC Assistance to BSP Election Campaign

BSP Reportedly Sought Aid

AU0810115291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Rumyan Petrov]

[Text] Our reporter Rumyan Petrov has just returned from a news conference given by Ivaylo Trifonov, head of President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's chancery.

[Petrov] Yes, I hasten to report two items from this news conference: The first claims to be some sort of sensation. Mr. Trifonov briefed journalists on the contents of a document stemming from the archives of the former CPSU Central Committee [CC] that has reached the Bulgarian president's chancery.

According to this document, in 1991, the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] requested assistance from the CPSU CC during the election campaign in Bulgaria. The assistance was supposed to be granted in different forms, among which there was an aspect related to financial and material aid. The request of the Bulgarian Socialists was very benevolently treated by the CPSU leadership, and a resolution signed by Vladimir Ivashko, CPSU CC deputy general secretary, was based on this document. The resolution was adopted on 16 August—you remember that this was three days before the attempted coup—and it reads as follows: We propose to draw up a plan on specific actions.

The second news item relates to contacts between Bulgaria and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The contacts are being accelerated, and we can expect a group from the government and the president's office to soon meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. I will give you more details on this event and on the aforementioned one later.

BSP: CPSU Contacts 'Natural'

AU0810175191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] On 8 October, the regular weekly news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place. A declaration related to the Socialists' concern with manipulating the election results was read. According to the declaration, the theoretical possibility of distorting the election results exists. Therefore, the BSP insists on guaranteeing broad public control over the vote counting, and entrusting a second organization with backup vote counting.

Andrey Lukanov said that he is concerned with the last minute changes in the collective that will process the election results. According to him, that collective is not qualified. Mathematical computers have not been provided yet. If the BSP demands for the organization of a backup control of the vote counting are not satisfied, we will say to the Bulgarian people that the election results have not been honestly computed, Andrey Lukanov categorically said.

The second issue that was discussed was the announcement by Ivaylo Trifonov, chief of the President's Office, about the BSP letter to the CPSU Central Committee, which included the request for specific assistance. Apostol Dimitrov explained the following:

[Begin Dimitrov recording] The letter was part of the interparty contacts between the BSP and other leftist parties. I would also like to say that there was a proposal to hold a meeting with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] then, but, at the time, the SDS was in the process of splitting, and the contact could not materialize.

We do not think that our request to at the CPSU Central Committee violated Bulgarian laws in any way. These are natural contacts between two parties that have mutual contacts. [as heard] Thus, this is something natural, and I do not see what could bother the people.

The document itself really is information about the visit of the delegation to Bulgaria—in particular, the meetings with the leadership of the BSP. [end recording]

Speaking on the same subject, Andrey Lukanov expressed alarm and indignation with the act by the President's Office because thus the President's Office took sides in the election struggle and overstepped the framework of its constitutional prerogatives.

Apostol Dimitrov pointed out that the BSP has not printed election campaign materials in the USSR, something that could have been concluded from the letter, but, according to a source that decided to remain anonymous, the SDS did precisely this.

The outcome of the deputies' pension vote at the National Assembly last week was explained by the absence of the leaderships of all legislative factions. The decision itself was declared amoral. On 7 December, the BSP legislative faction issued a declaration in which it described the vote as imperfect and insisted on voting again on the issue.

CPSU 'Responded' to Call

AU0810182491 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 8 Oct 91

["Call for Help?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—It became known today that three days before the attempted coup in the Soviet Union the leadership of the now disbanded Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) responded to the Bulgarian Socialist Party's call for help in the election campaign. At a press conference today Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, chief of the Office of the Bulgarian President, acquainted journalists with the text of a document from

the CPSU archives. The document says that the BSP "is coming across great difficulties, including financial ones" in its election campaign and that the help of the CPSU is "extremely important for the Socialists."

The report of high ranking Soviet party officials on their visit to the Bulgarian capital in early August was marked "please draft a plan for concrete steps immediately" by Mr. Vladimir Ivashko, former deputy secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU. The document discloses details from the talks that were held with BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Chairman Aleksandur Lilov and with other BSP leaders.

The report on the visit was dated August 13. Naturally, the BSP leadership wished Bulgaria to be visited in the pre-elections period by leaders of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet MP's who were CPSU members and firm supporters of the party line. The BSP looked for speakers on the problems of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism, prominent writers and actors, popular youth ensembles to take part in the BSP election campaign.

The document also considers the problem of how the Soviet mass media were to cover the election campaign in Bulgaria. It becomes evident from the report that as early as June this year Mr. Andrey Lukanov, former BSP deputy chairman, and another top party official reached an agreement on Soviet enterprises to publish campaign papers for the BSP.

Mr. Zaramenskiy, first deputy chief of the Department for Contacts with Social and Political Organizations of the CC of the CPSU, and Mr. Musatov, first deputy chief of the International Relations Department of the CC of the CPSU, informed the CC about the views of the BSP on the situation in Bulgaria. They said that the BSP's chief opponent, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), is trying to put the blame for the crisis in Bulgaria on the Socialists and that the SDS's strategic goal is the total removal of the BSP from power. It is added that this is also the goal of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms which unites some 130,000 Bulgarians of Turkish ethnic identity.

It is said in the document that the BSP's opponents are receiving substantial aid from the West.

The document sets forth the view of the BSP as to the outcome of the elections: The party has a fair chance of winning the elections and of remaining the leading political force in the country.

The signatories to the document refer to the BSP leaders as "our Bulgarian friends."

"The Bulgarian public should know which organization the BSP turned to for help in its election campaign," Mr. Trifonov said at the press conference. He stressed the fact that Mr. Ivashko endorsed the document only three days before the attempted coup in the Soviet Union. Mr. Trifonov recalled the wait and see stand of the BSP on the August events in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Trifonov wondered what course the election campaign in Bulgaria would have taken had the coup in the Soviet Union succeeded.

In answer to a question, Mr. Trifonov said that he does not know to whom the SDS has turned for help and whether it is receiving any help at all. "We haven't got such documents. But if we had we would have made them public," he added.

"There is nothing unusual in our request for help," Mr. Apostol Dimitrov, BSP deputy chairman, said. Mr. Dimitrov said at a press conference that the members of the CPSU delegation who visited Bulgaria were willing to hold talks with SDS representatives as well. Such contacts, however, were frustrated by the conflicts within the SDS.

Document's Publication Protested

AU0810215691 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has published an announcement in connection with the Soviet document, published by a representative of the Presidency Office. The announcement expresses puzzlement and alarm at the fact that the Presidency and the head of the President's Office have directly involved themselves in the election campaign, which has entered its final stage, by utilizing CPSU documents in an attempt to discredit the BSP.

The announcement expresses the hope that, in accordance with its supraparty status, the Presidency will consistently implement its mission for consolidating society and preserving civic peace, and that it will serve the national cause rather than the interest of certain parties.

SDS's Dzherov Assesses National Assembly Work

AU0810130091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] A news conference given by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in Sofia today was devoted to the subject of Bulgaria's future legislative activities.

Aleksandur Dzherov, chairman of the National Assembly's Legislative Commission, met journalists. He made his own specific assessment of the National Assembly's work in 1991 and evaluated this work as hard, involving great responsibility, and obstructed by great obstacles.

Mr. Dzherov pointed out some of the major obstacles that had obstructed the work of the National Assembly as a whole and that of the Legislative Commission in particular. He did not rate highly the 97 bills so far passed by the legislature. He also assessed the Constitution as imperfect. When the majority of different colors' interests prevails, a bill is adopted, he said, referring to the bill on the retirement of National Assembly members, which was passed at the last National Assembly session.

How does Mr. Dzherov see the future National Assembly? All kinds of specialists besides an SDS majority should prevail in the legislature, and the experts should be treated on an equal level because a Bulgarian Socialist Party-SDS [BSP-SDS] legislature alone would be a disaster.

Asked how long the next legislature would last, in his view, Mr. Dzherov answered, smiling: I can answer you in a week.

The first task of the future legislature, in his opinion, should be to adopt the laws on restitution and privatization, but there are numerous other important bills that should be passed.

SDS Demands Control Over Election Results

AU0810084291 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will recognize the validity of the election results only after analyzing the official documents related to the results and only after conducting its own investigations, Yordan Vasilev declared at the union's weekly news conference today.

The SDS objects to the election campaign poster of the SDS-Liberals in which the SDS Coalition is described as SDS-National Movement.

According to the SDS spokesman, the aforementioned poster creates the impression that a new formation—namely, a democratic Bulgarian opposition—has been established.

At the news conference, Yordan Vasilev further declared that 96,000 citizens' numbers have been duplicated in the electoral lists and mentioned other possible manipulations.

SDS-Liberals, SDS-Center News Conferences

AU0810085291 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces-Center [SDS-Center] and the SDS-Liberals will conduct a joint assessment of the election results on 13 October. This was announced at a news conference of the two SDS-Center parties held in Sofia today. The point of view of the SDS-Center that consultations for the future government should start as of today was expressed at the news conference.

At a news conference of the SDS-Liberals, which also took place in Sofia today, it was explained that the election campaign posters of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the Constitutional Forum coalition are misleading because they call on the people to vote for the democratic opposition.

SDS-Liberals, SDS-Center Sign Coalition Agreement

AU0810171991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] On 8 October, the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals [SDS-Liberals] and the SDS-Center signed a political cooperation agreement for the period of the election campaign and beyond. The two coalitions describe themselves as the ideological center of our public life, which will guarantee the peaceful and dynamic pace of progress in Bulgaria.

The two coalitions will participate with independent tickets and ballots in the elections, but they will coordinate their actions through regular consultations and exchanges of information.

Until the elections, the two coalitions will present joint positions to the state organs and the Central Election Commission, as well as to the other political forces.

The candidates of the SDS-Center and SDS-Liberals who are elected to the National Assembly will coordinate their actions and positions in the future legislature. The two coalitions will act in a similar manner in forming the municipal organs.

With their agreement, the SDS-Center and the SDS-Liberals have committed themselves to cooperate in forming the future government and to coordinate their actions in determining the government's structure, composition, and program.

DPS Leader Opposes Separatist Tendencies

AU0710143891 Sofia BTA in English 1347 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Ahmed Dogan: DPS Is Against All Types of Autonomism and Separatist Tendencies"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—"The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) has always been, is and will be against all types of autonomism and separatist tendencies," Mr. Ahmed Dogan, DPS leader, said in an interview for the specialized publication of the Institute of Mediterranean Countries Cooperation with the French Senate. Mr. Dogan's interview, as well as interviews with other political leaders in Bulgaria, was initiated by the French institute and the BTA COURIER Press Service.

Mr. Dogan stressed that as a "universal movement for universally recognized rights and freedoms of individuals and communities the DPS is concerned not only about the Turkish minority but also about the other minorities which make up the Bulgarian people." "As

loyal Bulgarian citizens, we are for guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country," Mr. Dogan said.

Mr. Dogan hopes that the October 13 elections will strengthen and promote the democratic process in the country to the point of irreversibility and that they will lead to the "recognition of the Turkish minority as a constructive force on the way to Bulgaria's radical Europeanization."

Asked whether the recognition of the existence of a Turkish political force in Bulgaria would not aggravate the problems in the relations between the two communities, Mr. Dogan said that the recognition of such a force is indispensable on the road to pluralism and genuine democracy in this country. "It does not endanger the country's national security; on the contrary, it is a precondition for the stabilization of interethnic relations," Mr. Dogan stressed.

Asked about the present crisis in Yugoslavia Mr. Dogan said that two issues should be taken into consideration in resolving the crisis: The security in the Balkans from the point of view of the status quo and the guarantees for the rights of individuals and communities. According to Mr. Dogan, Cyprus will cease to be a political problem if the respective sides to the conflict show political goodwill. "I hope that political common sense will prevail in the near future," Mr. Dogan said.

Ludzhev Views Future Cabinet, Possible Coalition

AU0810171591 Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Iva Toncheva]

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), who leads one of the UDF election lists, is not optimistic as to the future cabinet. In his opinion the UDF will play a key role in its formation, but does not hope it could make it alone. He considers a coalition with the other opposition forces possible, excluding the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The BSP, however, will be a serious opposition, the deputy prime minister said. The present coalition government was necessary at this stage, but its possibilities have been exhausted.

Partners are indispensable, Mr. Ludzhev said specifying these are the groups whose philosophy is close to that of the UDF. Their programs seek decommunization and replacement of the system.

At today's news conference which went on for an hour and a half, Mr. Ludzhev said he does not see much difference in the platforms of the groups which split from the UDF. The problem is whether they would be willing to form a cabinet in partnership with the UDF. When the present cabinet was made the Social Democrats, now belonging to UDF-Center, stood aside and later on sharply criticized the economic reform.

Mr. Ludzhev sees the two Agrarian Parties—the Nikola Petkov Agrarians and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United), as possible allies of the UDF in the new cabinet.

According to Mr. Ludzhev the new cabinet should have a strong professional nucleus. He said he would prefer a homogeneous cabinet of professionals working together as one team.

Political Scene on Eve of Election Surveyed

AU0810202091 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Forty political parties, coalitions, organizations and movements have been registered for participation in the October 13 parliamentary and local elections. Their number was the same in last year's elections when the parties competed for the 400 seats of the Grand National Assembly.

The 240 seats of the new parliament will probably be distributed among the present parliamentary forces: the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) but with certain changes.

The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) held 144 seats in the Grand National Assembly. In last year's elections it appeared as a coalition of 17 parties and organizations but it has now split into three election coalitions: —The SDS-Coalition (the radical opposition) includes mainly parties of a neo-liberal orientation. —The SDS-Centre Coalition is dominated by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. —The SDS-Liberals Coalition unites part of the Green Party and of the Federation of Democracy Clubs.

The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party is the only member of last year's SDS coalition to run in the coming elections separately. Some of its members, however, will run on the radical opposition's tickets.

The Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party which ran on its own in last year's elections and won 211 seats has now entered an election coalition with several minor political parties. The BSP has preserved the traditional red colour of its ballot paper, although it was also claimed by the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Co.nmunist Party (Marxists).

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) which holds 16 seats in the present parliament entered a coalition with the Constitutional Forum.

Mr. Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms (holding 23 seats) applied for registration in court as a political party but was rejected on the authority of the new Constitution which bans the establishment of parties on an ethnic basis. Mr. Dogan used the DPS's last year's registration and thus secured its participation in the coming elections.

Two Monarchist Coalitions have also been registered for participation: Svoboda [Freedom] and the Kingdom of Bulgaria Confederation.

Like in last year's elections, there will also be several nationalist parties, but the only one to get representation in parliament last year, the Fatherland Party of Labour, is now in a coalition with the BSP.

For the first time in Bulgaria three business parties have also nominated their candidates.

There will be independent candidates again (there were 2 independent MP's in the outgoing parliament). Among the independent candidates are Deputy Chairman of Parliament Ginyo Ganev, the minister of labour and social welfare Emiliya Maslarova and Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov (he entered parliament as a representative of the SDS but later declared himself independent).

The coming elections will be held after the proportional representation system, unlike last year's elections which were held after a mixed proportional and majority system. But the D'Hondt system will be used for the allocation of seats once again.

Maritsa-East Thermoelectric Plant Short of Fuel

AU0810133091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The power supply workers of the Dimo Dimov Electric Power Plant in the Maritsa East Complex are not ready for the winter, our correspondent Nayden Rangelov reports.

As of today, they are encountering difficulty as a result of the shortage of mazut black fuel. The 100 tonnes that were delivered yesterday in two barrels are not sufficient to put back into operation the idling power generator that was taken out of operation for repair.

Today the two reserve power generators were put into operation, but, because of the coal shortage, they will function at only a total capacity of 380 megawatt total power. If they are stopped for repairs, the plant would cease to function because of mazut black fuel shortage.

Considering the cold weather that is expected, the problems in the Dimo Dichev thermoelectric power plant will be particularly severe inasmuch as the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will not be working at full capacity.

Perhaps Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev could have answered these questions, but he did not come to Maritsa-East, despite the fact that everyone expected him, Nayden Rangelov reports.

U.S. Eximbank To Insure U.S. Exports

AU0810152591 Sofia BTA in English 1427 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)—For the first time the U.S. Export Import Bank (Eximbank) will provide credit insurance for U.S. exports to Bulgaria through its agent, the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, the Eximbank Public Relations Department told BTA.

The bank envisages short-term insurance for exports to Bulgarian buyers in the private and the state sector. The program will promote the sales of raw materials, consumer goods, spare parts, agricultural products and other goods and services which are usually financed on a short-term basis.

The decision was made by the Eximbank Board of Directors in response to the Bulgarian reforms which are supported by the International Monetary Fund and the restructuring program of the World Bank. The legal basis for this change of policy was ensured by President Bush who revoked the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the U.S. Trade Reform Bill of 1974.

Agriculture Minister Reports on Foreign Aid

AU0810101891 Sofia BTA in English 2017 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—Mr. Boris Spirov, minister of agriculture and food-processing, reported at a news conference today the amount of the foreign assistance granted for the recovery of Bulgarian agriculture.

Besides financial assistance, the ministry relies on experts, research and personnel training abroad. Bulgaria has been visited eight times by World Bank farming experts. On the basis of their analyses World Bank credits will be utilized for two purposes: the development of new irrigation systems and farm produce processing. Private farmers and private farmers cooperatives will be granted credit from World Bank loans. The first portions of the total amount of 50 million dollars will be available as of mid-1992.

The international PHARE [Development, Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program has granted more than ECU [European Currency Unit] 1 million for investment in agriculture; further ECU 25 million are expected after the agreement is signed in late October.

The G-24 will allocate 10 million dollars for the "land reform." The Civil Democratic Corps, set up on the initiative of President George Bush and dealing with the problems of Eastern Europe, will send 12 experts who will hold seminars on agricultural problems at the economics institutes in Ruse and Plovdiv.

Mr. Spirov also mentioned the timely assistance in food, fodder and expert panels from Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Israel, France and the United States. He expressed the hope that after a time Bulgarian farm produce will gain access to foreign markets.

Havel, Germany's Weizsaecker Meet Press on Treaty

LD0810201791 Prague CSTK in English 1601 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today praised Germany's cooperative approach towards Czechoslovakia and other post-Communist countries. Speaking at a joint press conference with visiting German President Richard von Weizsaecker, Havel pointed to the importance of the Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty initialled by the two countries' foreign ministers yesterday, as the first treaty concluded between a democratic Czechoslovakia and a unified Germany. Havel said that Czechoslovakia is willing to build relations with Germany on a new basis and described Weizsaecker's current visit as a culmination of developing bilateral relations. Weizsaecker said that the treaty marks a new quality of relations between Czechoslovakia and Germany. It was drawn up in a truly open and sincere spirit and will certainly create an atmosphere of mutual confidence at all levels. Weizsaecker ascribed primary significance to the fact that the Czechoslovak-German treaty and the two countries' cooperation can be considered with regard to the common future of Europe.

Responding to journalists' questions concerning the crisis in Yugoslavia, the two statesmen agreed that the right of nations to self-determination should be exercised with a view to the prospect of European unification. Havel rejected the drawing of any parallels between the crisis in Yugoslavia and current problems in Czechoslovak relations. "There has never been a war between Czechs and Slovaks", he pointed out. He said these nations once decided for good reasons to live together in one state. "Today we are searching for a new constitutional arrangement, a genuinely democratic federation... Nevertheless, no one has a right to deny Slovakia its right to self-determination and that is why the parliament passed the law on a referendum", he said, referring to the expected holding of a nationwide referendum on the future of the federation. Havel said he was convinced Czechoslovakia would remain one state.

Government Suspends Arms Shipments to Middle East

LD0810193191 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1750 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The Federal Government approved a statement today that says it supports convening an international peace conference on the Middle East. As an expression of support for the whole process, it suspends export of heavy conventional arms from Czechoslovakia to the Middle East.

Dubcek Questions Screening Law's International Legality

AU0910113791 Prague CSTK in English 1521 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 7 (CSTK)— The Screening Law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament on October 4, will affect about one million people, Czechoslovak parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek said in an interview for CSTK today.

The law, hailed by rightist parties as their victory, bars former Communist Party officials and secret police (StB) agents from leading posts in the state administration, the Army, and the mass media.

Dubcek thinks no such measures have been taken in Spain, Italy, Germany, or Austria, which, too, had to cope with the heritage of totalitarian regimes.

Dubcek agrees that the purification of society is necessary, but he criticized the law as based on the presumption of guilt. It does not solve the current situation, but rather turns to the past, which Dubcek believes is in contradiction with some international agreements.

Dubcek said the law bears traces of vengeance on ordinary citizens and it will not contribute to "spotting light at the end of the tunnel" at a time when most of work in the economic and social spheres is still to be done in transforming the Czechoslovak society.

Charter 77 Founder Asks Havel Not to Sign Law

AU0910114191 Prague CSTK in English 2008 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 6 (CSTK)— Professor Zdenek Mlynar, prominent Czech political scientist, today sent an open letter to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, stressing that the "screening law", which was passed Friday, is "at variance with the principles we defended together in the Charter 77 Declaration."

Mlynar, who was together with Havel one of the first spokesmen for the Charter 77, was prominent Czechoslovak Communist Party official during the 1968 "Prague Spring" reform movement. After signing the Charter 77 he was forced to leave Czechoslovakia and lived in Switzerland. After the toppling of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 he was one of the first emigrants to return home. Mlynar studied in the Soviet Union with Mikhail Gorbachev.

"If you sign...as the republic's president this 'screening law,' your signature will for the first time be below a text which instead of defending the fundamental legal principles evidently violates them," Mlynar said in the letter.

He welcomes the purification of society from StB (secret police) agents as justified and praises the effort at a legal regulation of the screening process but disagrees with the final form of the law. It will affect prominent 'Prague Spring' personalities like Alexander Dubcek, Professor Jiri Hajek (1968 foreign minister), and Professor Ota Sik (author of the 1968 economic reform), Mlynar pointed out.

Communist Era Ministry Officials To Face Trial

AU0910114391 Prague CSTK in English 1352 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CSTK)— Indictments were brought yesterday against former Czechoslovak Interior Minister Lt.-Gen. Frantisek Kincl, his first deputy, Lt.-Gen. Alojz Lorenc, and Colonel Karel Vykypel, former chief of Central Counterintelligence, by the chief military prosecutor at Pribram, Central Bohemia.

The press secretary for the Prosecutor's Office, Jan Dubensky, told CSTK today the three are accused of abuse of power by a public official. They are also charged with having ordered and organized the detention of numerous citizens to prevent their participation in planned anti-government protests in the period from mid-1988 through November 17, 1989, although these detentions ran counter to the Law on the National Security Corps (i.e. police).

On November 17 a peaceful student demonstration in Prague was brutally broken up by police, leading to mass protests which ended in the collapse of the communist regime the following month.

Lorenc also faces a separate charge of having unlawfully ordered the destruction of files of the former StB (secret police) during the November 1989 revolution.

Kincl, Lorenc, and Vykypel were previously in detention but later released pending their trial.

Havel Expresses Concern Over Country's Fate

AU0910092091 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 39, 30 Sep-6 Oct 91 pp 4-5

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Ivan Lamper and Vladimir Mlynar; place and date not given: "The Situation Is Getting Serious"]

[Text] [RESPEKT] At least since the Trencianske Teplice meeting, you and other federal, as well as Czech, representatives have spoken about the possibility of understanding Slovak yearnings and complying with them. After 18 months, it seems that this policy has failed: You were forced to appear in the Federal Assembly with an alarming speech about the imminent disintegration of Czechoslovakia. How should one progress from here, since none of the "concessions" satisfied the Slovak side?

[Havel] The political forces that won in the elections promised citizens that they would build a truly democratic federation based on the equality of all its members. To fulfill this promise means that each side must show understanding for the other, and all must search together for a solution that would make sense and with which the majority can agree. This is the approach I have consistently supported. At the same time, I have consistently (i.e. not only now) pointed out the dangers we would have to face in the event that we did not reach an agreement. The situation is getting serious because there have hardly been any results. This does not mean that everything failed. Failure can be averted, and conducting a referendum is one of the ways of doing so. If the results favored the federation, it would indicate a clear obligation for all our legislatures to quickly adopt their new constitutions. If the results favored the separation of our two republics, the process of their legal and cultural separation must begin. I would not dare to call either of the two solutions a failure. A real failure would be a wild, unconstitutional separation, a dual-law state, and constitutional chaos.

[RESPEKT] In a referendum, the victory of the common state can be expected. As the polls indicate, however, the majority of citizens will vote for it, because of fear of the unknown and of the economic chaos that the division of the republics could cause. Hence, even the general YES is not going to solve the fundamental problem: the Slovaks' need to stand on their own two feet. Is it at all possible to fulfill this demand and preserve the federation at the same time?

[Havel] If the citizens voted for the common state out of fear of the consequences of a separation, it would mean that the common state represents for them a certain security. Hence, it would not be just a manifestation of doubt in the viability of two separate republics, but a manifestation of trust in the viability of the common state. The Slovak demand "to stand on their own feet" can be satisfied, in my opinion, even within the framework of a federal state. After all, some of my initiatives were aimed precisely at that—the founding of the Federal Council included in my draft of the federal constitution is one example. The federation can function only if it is not perceived by the citizens of either of the two republics as something foreign, imposed on them, but rather as their property, as common work, as a bond that both republics decided upon on their own and in their own interest. The federation will never work if the republics perceive it as an oppressor. They must understand it as their own creation, as something that is not outside but within. They must identify with it. I made an attempt once to include this perception in the draft of the federal constitution.

Shame and Failure

[RESPEKT] Have you in any way changed your opinion on the jurisdiction laws that actually mark the beginning of the entire separation process?

[Havel] The constitutional law on the division of powers was adopted by the Federal Assembly. Therefore, I respect it, just as I respect our Constitution.

[RESPEKT] You were very much personally involved in the adoption of this law....

[Havel] I have never advised the legislature regarding the form in which to adopt the law. I have never commented on it. I only called for mutual understanding, and I will do the same in the future.

[RESPEKT] Let us say that, in the referendum, the citizens will favor the division of Czechoslovakia, or that it will disintegrate even sooner and without a referendum. You consider this possibility the "shame and failure" of the post-November representatives. Why?

[Havel] Because the post-November representatives promised these nations that they would build a democratic federation. If they do not build it, they have failed.

[RESPEKT] Can you accept no other view of the matter? The eventual separation would settle the problem of the heavy burden of the difference between the Czech and the Slovak societies that manifests itself so clearly, for instance, in the approach to the economic reform and in the different political orientation of the two republics.

[Havel] First, I am not convinced that the aspirations of the Slovak society really are so different from the Czech aspirations. Second, I do not believe that every time we encounter a difference in aspirations, there is no other solution but a separation. Such an attitude—taken to the extremes—would mean that nobody can collaborate and coexist with anyone else.

[RESPEKT] This society is facing very difficult tasks. For several months now, the political representatives have done hardly anything but inconsequentially discuss the constitutional arrangement. How long can one survive in a state in which one part of the country keeps wishing for independence and accuses the other part of usurpation?

[Havel] To begin with, you yourselves expect that in the referendum the will to preserve Czechoslovakia would probably prevail. How can you claim then that "one part of the country keeps wishing for independence?" On the other hand, I must admit that I am the first to be concerned with the endless inconsequential discussions about the constitutional arrangement. After all, this is the reason I organized so many various meetings last year, all of which had only one goal—to reach an agreement. I do not feel conciliated by the obvious truth that it is a thing that, if it takes a peaceful course, takes time. Let us consider, for instance, how long it took Belgium before a fair constitutional system was found, or how long the U.S. Constitution was in the making!

Hope as a Mental State

[RESPEKT] Do you believe that it is better to bear with the current arguments for many years to come, perhaps even risk an "Irish version" of coexistence, than separating the state?

[Havel] I am doing everything within my limited power to prevent the talks on the constitutional arrangement from taking the form of arguments, and to run them peacefully, decently, and quickly. I do this to prevent, among other things, the Irish or the Yugoslav alternatives.

[RESPEKT] Do you think you can manage this?

[Havel] I believe so.

[RESPEKT] From where do you take your optimism?

[Havel] It is not optimism. It is hope, as a mental state. It also is a goal I promised to seek. I dislike cancelling obligations, and I like to fulfill my promises. After all, viewed on a long-term basis, the problem of coexistence of our nations and the form of statehood will gradually lose their urgency, for the meaning of state independence will abate with the progress of European integration.

[RESPEKT] Are they aware in Bratislava of this European development? Slovak politicians do not give the impression of having heard of it.

[Havel] Of course they are aware of it. For some of them, it might be a reason to hurry. They would like to achieve for Slovakia what others achieved a long time ago, before we begin to integrate with others.

The Silent Majority

[RESPEKT] Those who speak in defense of the common state often use the argument of the Slovak "silent majority," which favors the federation, and on which the referendum counts. How, then, can one explain that the "pro-federal" Public Against Violence movement has the support of only three percent of the voters, that the Slovak citizens do not protest against their prime minister, who repeatedly states that his goal is an independent state, and that the most popular media in Slovakia are those that constantly question the federation?

[Havel] There is something symptomatic here. I have observed it in Slovakia on countless occasions. I will attend a soccer match in Bratislava—and the entire stadium rises and applauds me. Shortly thereafter, the national anthem is played, and the whole stadium boos during Where is my Home [the Czech part of the anthem]. That is the Slovak reality—full of contradictions. Many politicians are trusted, not because the people think of the impact of their words, but simply because they like these politicians. The Slovaks take them as an incorporation of their—so far unrealized—energy. This all belongs to the complex Slovak climate. I would like to point out, however, that the situation is not much better in the Czech Lands. Actually, it is the same in all the postcommunist states. Take Poland for instance: Solidarity has been the incorporation of the national freedom struggle for ten years, and a total unknown, Mr. Tyminski, almost won the elections.

[RESPEKT] Let us return to the silent, Slovak pro-federal majority. If it really exists, the question is why the federal bodies and you yourself give its representatives so little support. Finding a job and a home in Prague for the few vanishing federalists, as in the case of Fedor Gal, certainly is not enough.

[Havel] These are two different issues. My support for the ideas of the democratic federation is generally known and, in its very essence, it is a support for all who favor the federation, be they in the Czech Lands or in Slovakia. It is not true that there are not many of them in Slovakia. Just read the signatures on the For the Common State petition. You will find there—among others—almost all members of the Slovak intelligentsia. The fate of Fedor Gal is different. There are anti-Semitic and fascist-oriented groups in Slovakia. I have encountered them many times, and I read numerous anti-Semitic fliers that circulate there; people even display them in their windows. I know that Slovak booksellers refuse to handle Gal's book, etc. What can I add? I have expressed my opinion a thousand times, and I will repeat it as long as necessary. Nonetheless, I cannot go there to arrest people, take them for interrogation, and charge them. There are other institutions to do that. After all, these aggressive minorities exist everywhere, in Slovakia, just as in Bohemia or France. The difference is that an immature state is not able to cope properly with them. This, so far, is our case: We are incapable of punishing even the clear-cut crimes. There is a shortage of courageous and democratically thinking prosecutors and judges. All able lawyers work as barristers or join private companies. Everybody knows this.

I Will Stand Up for Certain Values as Long as I Live

[RESPEKT] In the event of the disintegration of the republic, would you remain in office or would you retreat into privacy?

[Havel] In the event of the disintegration of the common state, the post of federal president will vanish. If the federation prevails, then new elections for the Czechoslovak presidency will take place at the beginning of July.

[RESPEKT] Will you stand for election again?

[Havel] I will stand up for certain social values as long as I live, regardless of my position. You can find out whether or not I will stand for election again in my book, Summer Reflections, which comes out next week.

[RESPEKT] The British political scientist and a long-time friend of yours, T.G. Ash, said recently that you would be more useful to your country if you were again an intellectual opposing a real power. Have you considered this?

[Havel] What Ash is saying now, I used to say two years ago, as my first presidential candidacy was being discussed. I was convinced of the opposite. I serve my country as president to the best of my abilities and, sooner or later, the moment will certainly come when we both, Ash and I, will see me as an independent intellectual again.

Carnogursky Interviewed on Constitutional Changes

LD0910083691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Michal Tvarozek; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tvarozek] The program of today's session of the Slovak government is on 14 pages. It includes more than 40 items; some have been deleted, some have been added, but the three most important ones are on page one. They are proposals put forward by deputies of the Slovak National Council: one suggests a constitutional law on sovereignty of the Slovak republic, the second is on the referendum, and the third on state symbols—the emblem, the flag, the seal, and the Slovak national anthem. I have at my microphone the Slovak Prime Minister.

Mr. Carnogursky, can you tell us, what was the fate of these proposals? What was the stand adopted by the government toward them?

[Carnogursky] They have been submitted to the government for the government to adopt a stand on them, according to the procedural order of the Slovak National Council. The government has, in fact, adopted negative stands on all three of them. The government adopted a negative stand on the draft constitutional bill on the declaration of sovereignty of the Slovak republic, explaining that this bill would be unconstitutional and, for that reason, it is not appropriate for the Slovak National Council to adopt it.

[Tvarozek] There is one point—the third point in the draft—which says that laws passed by the Federal Assembly are valid on the territory of the Slovak Republic only if agreed to by the Slovak National Council. Was this one of the reasons why it was viewed as anti-constitutional and thus rejected?

[Carnogursky] Yes. Such a provision is a typical confederation principle, and it would be a clear violation of the valid Constitution. The other bill—on the public referendum—here again, we have adopted a negative stand, saying that the existing federal constitutional law on the referendum contains provisions that make it possible for the Slovak National Council or the Czech National Council to suggest that the president should call a referendum on the territory of one of the republics and that the president, in such a case, is bound by this proposal. Thus, at least some of the problems of a referendum called for on the territory of one republic are resolved by the federal law. We do admit that it is possible to adopt a separate Slovak National Council bill on the referendum, with the provision that such a referendum would deal with some other issues besides the basic state-set up issues that the federal constitutional law provides for.

[Tvarozek] And who is to declare it, when the federal law says that the president is to declare it. Who is to do this in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] As I have said, at present the federal law makes provisions...

[Tvarozek interrupts] So other things could be resolved by a public referendum?

[Carnogursky] This would then require making amendments to that other bill of the Slovak National Council and, in principle, various other options are possible—but it would be a matter for a legal amendment—and I repeat it—either in the constitution of the Slovak republic or in a separate bill. And as the Slovak constitution is currently being prepared, we believe that there is no need now to adopt a special bill on the referendum.

[Tvarozek] Let us turn to the third proposal now.

[Carnogursky] Yes. We have also adopted a negative stand on the third proposal, that is, the proposal on changing the flag of the Slovak republic. However, at the same time, we are aware of the fact that it will be necessary to modify, or at least to change, the flag of the Slovak republic if we are not to demand that Russia should change its flag. The flag change is a very important step that we must not take in haste, if the flag is to last for decades or centuries.

[Tvarozek] This is the final decision of the government, but Slovak National Council deputies can still submit these proposals to the next Slovak National Council plenary session.

[Carnogursky] Yes, of course. This is only the government stand on the deputies' proposals. Of course, deputies can debate their proposals.

Small-Scale Privatization in Slovakia Discussed

AU0810192591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 4 Oct 91 p 3

[CSTK report: "Speculative Use of Dutch Auctions; Small-Scale Privatization in Slovakia"]

[Text] A total of 5,278 small businesses had been privatized by means of public auctions in the Slovak Republic by 30 September 1991, yielding a total of 4,641,737,000 korunas.

"Experience from small-scale privatization shows that, in some localities, the supply situation and the standard of shop services have improved. The range of products offered by shops has also partially increased. In the chaotic situation of the privatization process, the market and prices are gradually beginning to stabilize. Supply and demand are getting into balance," said L. Kanik, director of the Small-Scale Privatization Department at the Slovak Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property, in an interview for CSTK.

L. Kanik described as a lingering deficiency the speculative use of so-called Dutch auctions [during which the price is bid down, if no buyer can be found at the starting price]. It is being repeatedly pointed out that, due to agreed payoffs between prospective bidders, the price of auctioned businesses is cut up to 50 percent in first-round auctions and up to 80 percent in second- round auctions. The view has also surfaced that many bidders use money from abroad. L. Kanik said that the ministry will seek a compromise arrangement and will limit the use of Dutch auctions, especially when real estate is auctioned off.

According to L. Kanik, in some localities, the slow progress of privatization has caused a lack of, in particular, some specialized services—barber's shops, dry-cleaning shops, and the like—which he described as a temporary problem. The extension of [mandatory minimum] economic leases from two to five years [approved by the Federal Assembly on 3 October] could, in his opinion, stimulate interest in businesses that are to be privatized.

Antall Views SFRY, EC Association, NATO

LD0810205191 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—"In Hungary's view, the solution to the Yugoslav crisis would be creating a confederation of sovereign republics, in which national autonomy and minority rights would receive sufficient guarantees," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at a press briefing upon his return from Warsaw today. Antall visited Warsaw after attending the UN General Assembly in New York and a Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish summit in Krakow.

"Resolving the Yugoslav crisis requires a coordinated political, economic and, in certain terms, military pressure," Antall stated. Referring to Croatian territories occupied by the Federal Yugoslav Army, Antall said the "pan-Serbian" concept is unacceptable for international powers. Giving account of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish summit and his talks conducted in Warsaw, Antall said the three East-Central European countries are linked by their efforts to become associated members of the European Community. The three countries are handled together by the EC but this does not imply the necessity of concluding the association agreements on the same day, he added.

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland do coordinate their policies but each country is holding separate talks on association with the EC, Antall said. Answering questions regarding his visit to the U.S., Antall said that political and economic leaders of the U.S. showed interest towards the East-Central European region including Hungary. A strong proof of that attention is the fact that more than 50 per cent of American capital flowing into the region has been invested in Hungary. Hungary's economy, therefore, seems to be able to make profits and has the opportunity to become prosperous, Antall said. The possibility of Hungary or any other state in the region becoming a member of the NATO has not been raised so far, Antall stated, adding that neither the countries in question nor the NATO is prepared to take such a step. He, however, voiced his firm conviction that the position of the three countries' governments was convergent on that the NATO is a basic guarantee of European security and that it should extend an "umbrella" over the East-Central European region.

Assembly To Consider SFRY Troops Transit

LD0810205591 Budapest MTI in English 1920 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Whether troops of the federal Yugoslav Army wanting to withdraw from Slovenia can go through Hungarian territories is an issue to be considered by the Hungarian parliament, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told MTI's correspondent here today.

"The Yugoslav side has indeed addressed its request to the Hungarian Government but, according to the Constitution, such an issue falls into the parliament's scope of authority," Antall stated.

The only thing the government might discuss is whether it wants to submit the request to parliament at all, Antall said, firmly rejecting the possibility of the Hungarian Government planning to hold an extraordinary session on the issue. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavs Need Federal Passports To Cross Border

LD0810154691 Budapest MTI in English 1252 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—For the time being, Hungarian border guards accept solely Yugoslav passports, an official from the Hungarian Border Guard told MTI, reflecting on the news that entry into Austria will also be allowed with Croatian and Slovenian travel documents as of Tuesday.

The Foreign Ministry informed MTI that Slovenia and Croatia had not asked the Hungarian authorities to accept the documents issued by them.

Horn Urges Central Europe Integration in NATO

LD0910091791 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—"Central Europe would welcome the NATO and its individual member states to respond positively to integrational initiatives of the region as soon as possible," Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee told MTI's correspondent here today.

Horn was asked his opinion on the issue following a statement issued by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland on their intentions to institutionalize their links with the NATO.

"The NATO cannot put off a decision for ever. Its negative response would mean that, in spite of its declared aims, it cannot act in pan-European proportions," Horn, who was foreign minister in the government of former Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, said.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on GDR Arms Offer

LD0910004191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Yesterday a representative of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] proposed that because of the Yugoslav crisis and the weak state of equipment of the Hungarian Army, the German Government should give Hungary weapons from the arsenal of the former East

German army. Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defense, made a statement about this idea.

[Keleti] I would separate the Yugoslav events from the current state of the Hungarian Army. I would say that we declared as long as a year ago that we were interested in the weapons that the GDR People's Army took into the Bundeswehr. For us these technical tools would represent a relative modernization, if we get them.

We welcome this proposal by the German Christian Democrats. Naturally, however, with this proposal the German Federal parliament must make a decision on this and, ultimately, the German Government too.

In the situation that has developed next to our border we indeed need a modern army, although the Yugoslav events have not yet reached the stage of directly threatening the sovereignty of the Hungarian Republic. Domestic air defense equipment is suitable, if needed, for thwarting [elharitas] potential Yugoslav violations of air space and should it become justified, other parts of the Hungarian Army too could participate in the defense of the country's sovereignty.

Jeszensky Suggests Code for Protecting Minorities

AU0910154591 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Oct 91 p 6

[Report by Janos Fercsey: "For the National Minorities in the United Nations—Our Foreign Affairs Minister Suggests a European Code for Their Protection"]

[Text] "The first time I went to the United Nations was in the autumn of 1990, and today, my view is that Hungary has been accepted in the community of democratic states. Our diplomacy and, mainly, our considerable achievements in Hungary play a role in this acceptance. We belong to the big democratic family of the world, and our opinion is appreciated in crisis situations," Geza Jeszenszky said. He will be observing the work of the United Nations General Assembly and the work of the Security Council in New York.

"The General Assembly provides opportunities for many important diplomatic meetings", Geza Jeszenszky continued. "For example, a few days ago, the three foreign affairs ministers of 'Visegrad' and the three foreign affairs ministers of the Benelux countries participated in a working breakfast, which is a common practice in the United States. Hungary played an important role in setting up this meeting. The example of the Benelux countries can serve as a model because, despite the previous conflicts between the Belgian communities, for example, the three small countries—Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—they cooperate in an exemplary manner, and their peoples live in prosperity."

At the Hungarian general consulate, Geza Jeszenszky gave a lecture to Hungarian secular and church leaders on the situation of Hungary and its neighboring countries. Looking at the events through the eyes of an historian, he pointed out that Croatia's and Slovenia's history was intertwined with Hungary's history and, although the Slovenes became connected to Western Christian civilization earlier than the Hungarians, today they might have their first opportunity to achieve independence. (Let us not forget that the road toward Fiume and Trieste led through Slovenia and Croatia.) Jeszenszky emphasized that we also wanted to have good relations with the Serbs, and he underlined the moderate behavior of Hungarians in the Yugoslav crisis.

"There is stability in Hungary; our government's steps are predictable, its policies are responsible, and the superpowers may never have viewed Hungary in as good a light as they do today," Jeszenszky said. "Hungary is an organic part of Europe, and relations with Europe and the United States are our most important relations, although we also maintain relations with more distant continents."

"In spite of the geographical distance, Latin America is not unimportant for us," Jeszenszky emphasized. "On the one hand, there are sizable Hungarian communities in several South American countries, namely in Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela and, on the other hand, I also see a similarity, because Latin America is also part of Western civilization. In spite of the large distances, the Central-Eastern European changes also affected Latin America, where encouraging processes can be observed. Left-wing and right-wing dictatorships have collapsed and the influence of the guerrillas has decreased due to Marxism and Leninism becoming discredited during the Central European events. The Hungarian events strengthened the democratic forces in Latin America.

Before entering the United Nations General Assembly session, Geza Jeszenszky will hand over an article he wrote for U.S. newspapers on Eastern-Central European national minorities. He notes that these national minorities do not consist of emigrants searching for work; these people lived in their places of birth for centuries, and the drift of history turned them into minorities. Later, the borders were also changed and, therefore, 3.5 million Hungarians are living beyond the borders of Hungary today. In the SFRY, only 36 percent of the population are Serbs, and one-third of the Serbs live outside the borders of the Serb Republic; there are 600,000 Serbs in Croatia and nearly 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina. On the other hand, there are two, formerly autonomous, provinces in Serbia, namely Vojvodina and Kosovo. Some 400,000 Hungarians live in Vojvodina, along with 150,000 Croatians and a considerable number of Slovaks and Ruthenians. In Kosovo, some 90 percent of the population are Albanians. Geza Jeszenszky suggests a European code for the protection of national minorities.

Welfare Ministry Official Views Benefits System

AU0810142591 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 3 Oct 91 p 7

[Interview with Istvan Kakuszi, deputy state secretary at the Welfare Ministry, by Nogradi; place and date not given: "A Right to a Livelihood, but Is It for Everyone?—It Takes a Long Time To Weave the Net, and There Are Holes in It"]

[Text] The range of people needing support grows in inverse proportion to the decrease in the real value of the welfare budget. There are no work, no housing, and no health. Is there an adequate welfare concept to handle these problems? When is the National Assembly expected to pass the welfare bill, and what will this bill contain?

We interviewed Istvan Kakuszi on these issues:

[Kakuszi] I also hold the view that unemployment is the biggest problem, especially in the case of young people and people like the disabled, who are in a disadvantaged position in the labor market. However, I feel that a law in itself does not help. Our ministry has drawn up the welfare bill, but, unfortunately, it is unlikely to be debated by our National Assembly in 1991.

[Nogradi] What can people who are living in difficult circumstances expect from the welfare law?

[Kakuszi] We hope that the most unbearable inequalities and disadvantages will be moderated through the changed regulations. It would be expedient if, in conjunction with the welfare law, our National Assembly passed laws on social security, health, and housing. These areas are closely connected to each other because, just looking at the chances young people have of housing, I do not think we can ignore the social policy aspects. The Welfare Ministry will maintain its stand on the need for housing on a welfare basis.

[Nogradi] The bill definitely wants to separate the obligations of the state, local government, and the family, and it increasingly wants to take welfare provision out of the central budget....

[Kakuszi] It could not do so even if it wanted to. Family supplements continue to be a citizen's right. This idea also emerged in connection with other provisions related to children, like the child-care allowance and benefits, the maternity allowance, and the provision for school children. Invalidity benefits would come under central authority, and other subsistence support for people in need would belong to the central budget.

[Nogradi] Who would be eligible for the other subsistence support?

[Kakuszi] People who live on incomes below the subsistence level. One group would be the elderly people who live on small amounts of money or who have no incomes. Another group would be people who cannot find a job even after two years of unemployment, and families where the loss of income through conscription endangers their livelihoods.

[Nogradi] The current practice is that central budget tasks are often financed from the social security fund. What is your opinion on this practice?

[Kakuszi] The provision for health institutions and social institutions is adequately separated, but it is true that the health service often cares for people according to welfare criteria, especially because specific services have not been developed yet. It would be good to separate the tasks and the funds. In any case, this cannot be delayed if social security and health care are organized on an insurance basis.

[Nogradi] Huge amounts of money are often used to keep elderly people in hospitals for purely welfare reasons.

[Kakuszi] It is true that we do not have a well-developed institutional system or funds for the terminally ill. It is also true that certain areas cannot adequately place people in old people's homes. It would be important for the local governments to set up a system of home care in the future. Caring for the elderly in their own homes would be more humane than placing them in institutions. I would not deny the fact that the central budget would also be better off.

[Nogradi] Will you change the system of fees in old people's homes?

[Kakuszi] The fees will be adjusted to the expenses and the income of the individual, and they will increase in total. The fee cannot be demanded, or there will be a reduced fee if the per capita income of the person who is provided for or that of his family does not exceed the subsistence level.

[Nogradi] The things you have said so far promise nothing more than what we have been used to for decades....

[Kakuszi] That is natural because we have the same environment as before. In my opinion, the most important thing is to regulate the welfare policy through laws instead of through the often inscrutable decrees, which has mainly been the practice so far. We hope that the law will provide security for everyone by guaranteeing the subsistence level.

Moscow Agrees To Withdraw Troops by End of 1992

AU0810160691 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 8 (AFP)—Most Soviet troops in Poland will be withdrawn by the end of 1992 and a friendship agreement between the two former Warsaw Pact countries will be signed this month, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Grzegorz Dziemidowicz told AFP Tuesday.

Only "some logistical units" will stay in Poland until 1994 to help repatriate Red Army troops from former East Germany where withdrawal operations are to continue until then, he said.

Some 45,000 Soviet troops have been based in Poland since the end of the Second World War.

Until now Moscow has refused to withdraw its troops before 1994, while Warsaw has demanded their withdrawal as soon as possible. Until now, only 4,500 Soviet soldiers have left the country.

Poland was a member of the now defunct Warsaw Pact defense alliance of communist bloc countries dominated by the Soviet Union.

A Polish delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk concluded talks in Moscow Monday where the last details of a bilateral friendship treaty were hammered out.

Under the new text, a controversial clause dealing with security, which Poland considered a threat to its sovereignty, was dropped, Makarczyk said.

The new version, concluded after a year of negotiation, "conforms fully to the norms of international law," he said.

The conclusion of a treaty with Moscow does not rule out the possibility of establishing direct ties with the individual Soviet republics, the Polish minister added.

General Cited on Troop Pullout

LD0810140391 Warsaw PAP in English 1457 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—Government plenipotentiary for stationing of Soviet troops in Poland General Zdzislaw Ostrowski told the DZIENNIK LODZKI daily on Monday that Soviet soldiers had been systematically pulled out from Poland since last April. "We have taken over more than 900 objects and over 2,000 hectares of land. The garrisons in Szczecin, Troun, Nowa Sol and Debica, have been liquidated," he said.

Ostrowski also said that the greatest problems in concluding the talks on the pull-out were connected with ecological and financial questions. Poland would like to estimate whether the ecological losses and the costs of renovating buildings destroyed by the Russians are equal to the compensation they want for constructing new objects. On the other hand, the Soviet side wants to link the date for final withdrawal with signing an agreement on financial settlements.

General Ostrowski firmly denied rumours that the Soviet troops pulled out from Germany were occupying quarters in Poland, just left by their colleagues.

USSR Closes Border Crossing to Baltic Travelers

LD0810142191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Since this morning, Soviet border services have not allowed travelers from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia through the road border crossing at Kuznica Bialostocka. It is not known whether this is a temporary or permanent decision.

Walesa Views 'Mutual Interdependence' With West

AU0810150891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Miklos Ritecz in Warsaw on 4 October: "Mutual Interdependence With the West"]

[Text] We have to strengthen our economic and military cooperation, and we have to fight together against international crime—this is what Polish President Lech Walesa told our Warsaw correspondent before the Polish-Hungarian-CSFR summit in Krakow. In the interview, Walesa also spoke about an aim that is important for Poland, namely its accession to Europe, and the problems of our region and Poland:

[Ritecz] Mr. President! One of the most important issues for our countries is our accession to Europe and to pan-European organizations. At the same time, it seems that the instability in our region has made the West adopt a more reserved attitude toward us....

[Walesa] Yes. The West is strong and stable; it does not feel threatened by the conflicts in our region, and that is why it does not try to pay a price for these conflicts. It does not really want to interfere. "Let them come to an agreement"—that is what Westerners say, and they hardly even acknowledge our situation. They act as though they couldn't see the dangers. Yet they depend on us, too, even from an economic point of view. We have to tell Europe clearly and resolutely: While they force 10 percent of their products on us, they are reluctant even to accept 1 percent of ours. We buy their products, but they are reluctant to allow our insignificant quantity of beef onto their markets. If we barred the way for them, they would lose 10 percent, but we would only lose 1 percent. So we should ask them: Whose interest is it in to actually accept us?

[Ritecz] Accession will probably be one of the topics at the Krakow summit. Is accession easier in groups of three?

[Walesa] It is easier in a threesome; we could gain several advantages. In the past, there were some misunderstandings, because many people believed that we were competing against each other on the road to Europe. I made a mistake myself, when I spoke on behalf of Poland at various forums—although I always had the countries in our triangle [Poland, Hungary, and the CSFR] in mind. Particularly in the Czech press, there were reports that Poland only wanted to gain benefits for itself. We thought we understood each other, but it turned out that this was not always true. That is why I changed: Today, I start by saying that Warsaw does not do anything without Prague or Budapest. In particular, we should increase our cooperation in three areas. It seems that we are progressing on the same wagon in politics, so we should place greater emphasis on economic and military cooperation, as well as on our joint fight against crime.

[Ritecz] Will the Yugoslav situation be discussed at the Walesa-Havel-Antall meeting?

[Walesa] We will talk about helping the Hungarians, who are directly threatened by the Yugoslav conflict. It is only a stone's throw away: The refugees currently crossing the border on foot or by car could well be accompanied by tanks next time—not because they want to shoot, but because they want to flee. These tanks might be shot at from the other side of the border, and the shots might hit Hungarian villages. Then we are not very far from an armed conflict, because the Hungarians might fire back. In other words, we cannot allow confrontation on Hungarian soil! Nor can the clashes carry on in Yugoslavia itself! I think that United Nations units should be sent to the area and that the Army should be disarmed before negotiations.

[Ritecz] The new international situation has raised problems for Poland, too. For example, Poland has to face national minority problems. Some 300,000 Poles live in Lithuania, not to mention Belorussia and the Ukraine; the Poles in Lithuania are complaining these days....

[Walesa] We are not asking for privileges for the Poles living there; we simply want the same rights for them as the rights that we guarantee for the national minorities living in Poland. These rights should correspond to accepted international norms and agreements. I understand that there is chaos at the very beginning, when the peoples have only just gained their independence and they are faced with accumulated economic problems. We—Poles, Czechs, Hungarians—have passed this stage. At the same time, Lithuania had a longer time to enjoy the system of "social happiness," so there is still greater political anarchy over there. From some points of view, they are even farther away from Europe than we are. The same thing applies to the situation of other Soviet peoples who reached a normal social situation at a later stage. And look at Germany's example! Former FRG citizens are calm, but former GDR citizens are provoking fights. It is the same people, but they lived in different worlds for a long time, and that is why they behave differently today.

[Ritecz] Why is there this unrest in our region, these flying tempers?

[Walesa] Marx, Engels, and Lenin announced that the masses would decide on everything. Well, this was not true under the former regime. It was the political elite and the security people who decided. It is only now that we have won our freedom and that the masses really believe in their strength and in the effect of their strikes. Naturally, this poses a problem, but we have to get over it.

[Ritecz] During the election campaign, still in his capacity as the chairman of Solidarity, Lech Walesa promised a program of acceleration to the Polish masses. What is the reason that you stopped this program in your position as president?

[Walesa] I wanted to accelerate, and I also tried to do so. I did this until I realized that I was not able to cooperate with a parliament where 65 percent of deputies had gained their seats with the support of the Polish United Workers Party, on the basis of a roundtable agreement. Naturally, this also affected the program of acceleration. We should change the legal system that we inherited from the past, but only our Parliament can do that. In other words, my program of acceleration was slowed down by the previous agreement, and I am paying now for the transition. Nevertheless, I hope that, with the new parliament, we will make up for the delay. The deputies of this Parliament will already have the mandate for cooperation. Up to now, it was only I who had this mandate.

[Ritecz] Mr. President! The parliamentary elections will be held on 27 October. Who do you support, and who do you sympathize with— which party and which political line?

[Walesa] It is enough for you to look at me to find out which political line I sympathize with and represent. (The president points at his lapel where he wears a Saint Maria badge.) I always wear this, and I can always identify with it. On the other hand, I am the president of all Poles, and that says it all.

[Ritecz] Many people reproach you for wanting to strengthen presidential power. Why do you feel it is necessary to establish French or American type presidential power in Poland?

[Walesa] I am active, and this might appear as an attempt to increase the president's sphere of authority. I fight for results. I know that my present severity would not be good in the future but, in my opinion, we need it in today's situation. I fight for causes and the success of the reforms, even if many people see it as an attempt to increase my power.

Skubiszewski Briefs Press on Foreign Policy

AU0810152791 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 4-6 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Jerzy Markowski report: "I Do Not Think Our Foreign Policy Can Change After the Elections"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski held a news conference at the Foreign Ministry following his return from New York. He discussed the broad spectrum of current foreign policy issues and presented Poland's stance on many key topics.

Speaking about his alleged candidacy for the post of UN secretary general, K. Skubiszewski said he had nothing to add to what he had already said before he left for New York. After all, I have just returned from there, he said. He made it clear that he was not running for this post and that he had not staged any kind of election campaign in New York. "There are better candidates than me for this post," he said.

On the subject of the first anniversary of German unification, the foreign minister gave a generally positive assessment of this process, but added that there is still a lot to be done in Polish-German relations. "The recent upsurge of hostility toward foreigners in Germany, including toward Poles, is regrettable, but it is only one of many factors," said Skubiszewski. "We expect the German police and the relevant services to firmly counteract these phenomena. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that German unification accelerated Europe's unification, and that the two unification processes are intertwined. The recent visits by the prime ministers of the new laender of Brandenburg and Thuringia have shown that there are good chances of implementing concrete undertakings in cross-border cooperation. To a certain extent, that is also a result of unification."

Answering a question about his trip to China and Korea, Minister Skubiszewski said his forthcoming visit to these countries is a routine exchange visit, i.e. a normal part of his ministry's work. "As far as China is concerned, political dialogue between Poland and China has intensified since Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to Poland," said K. Skubiszewski. "One must remember that, as a permanent member of the Security Council, China plays a major role in world politics. Apart from that, China pursues its own foreign policy vis-a-vis the two superpowers. What we are mainly concerned with is an improvement in trade and economic relations with China, because all is not well in this sphere. As far as South Korea is concerned, my visit there will be a continuation of Prime Minister Bielecki's visit to Seoul, and I will resume where he left off, for the South Korean Government has given us credit guarantees of which very little use has been made. In the political sphere, we directed our activity toward the acceptance of both Korean states into the United Nations, which has finally come about. We believed their membership in the United Nations would hasten their unification."

Speaking about eastern policy, Minister Skubiszewski said he had twice met with his Soviet counterpart Boris Pankin. "Pankin's visit to Poland was connected with our accord with the Soviet Union. Until now, the conclusion of a treaty of cooperation and good-neighborly relations was hampered by so-called security clauses imposed by the Soviet side. Another issue is the pullout of Soviet forces from Poland. In principle, the Soviet Union has already agreed to this pullout. The only problems that remain to be settled are on assets and financial matters, and these require further talks."

On the subject of relations between Poland and Lithuania, Minister Skubiszewski said: "We want good, very good, relations with Lithuania. All the prerequisites for good cooperation exist. We are flexible, and we appreciate the historical thought processes among Lithuanians. Although our view of the Union of Lublin [a treaty concluded in 1569 which merged Lithuania with Poland] is different from that of Lithuania, which considers it a national tragedy, we would still like to establish future relations without referring to the past so much. It is not good that the Lithuanians have made an issue out of the Polish minority there, and at the very beginning of their independence. Polish-Lithuanian talks are due to begin on 4 October. Of course, one cannot predict the results of these talks, but we cannot agree with some of the Lithuanian authorities' moves vis-a-vis the Polish minority, including some administrative decisions, and these decisions will be one of the subjects of the talks."

"But as far as Poland and the Ukraine are concerned," continued Minister Skubiszewski, "we have good relations with that republic, because many matters have already settled, some of them were even resolved last year. Our desire for cooperation has been properly understood and well received in Kiev. The Ukraine has many domestic problems to settle with Moscow and with the other republics."

On the subject of the EC and President Bush's initiative, Minister Skubiszewski said: "There is a lot to indicate that an agreement on our association with the European Communities will be signed in the final quarter of this year. Of course, this cannot be viewed solely in terms of Polish advantages, because it also brings advantages to other countries. It opens up, not just the Polish market, but also those of Hungary and the CSFR. President Bush's initiative has been described as a bold one, demonstrating the great ambition of American disarmament policy. We fully support this initiative, even though it concerns nuclear weapons, which do not apply to us. We think talks on reducing the numerical status of European armed forces should be continued. In any case, these talks are a continuation of last year's Paris accord on conventional arms reductions.

"Our contacts with NATO have been frequent and comprehensive since last year and are developing well," Minister Skubiszewski continued. "One should expect new Polish proposals concerning these relations to be put

forward before the NATO summit starts." These proposals will probably concern security, but the minister refused to provide further details, saying that it was too *early for that.*

On the subject of Yugoslavia, the minister said: "We are not the only ones who fear that the crisis there could have a negative effect on European unity. The sending of peace forces to Yugoslavia is an operation that must be based on a cease-fire and on the observance of that cease-fire by all sides. Peace forces cannot be dispatched until the fighting has stopped but, unfortunately, it is not stopping. Right now, I do not see any possibility of dispatching the peace forces there." Minister Skubiszewski said that he agrees with his Yugoslav counterpart, that Yugoslavia as a country requires a new definition and that there is no return to the old structures. "In the end, the independence of Slovenia and Croatia is inevitable, but there is the problem of how to achieve that independence," Skubiszewski said.

Answering a question about foreign policy after the elections, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski said: " I do not think our foreign policy will change. How could it change? We have very good relations with the United States and with other countries. Our policy of establishing relations with the many new countries that are replacing the USSR is nothing new. We have not been pursuing this policy since yesterday, and I do not think it is possible to change it. Therefore, what changes can one possibly expect?"

Council of Ministers Views Arms Industry Future

LD0810222291 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] A list of 19 enterprises selected as state arms enterprises and a list of 24 enterprises that could be transformed into state treasury companies were presented at a government meeting by Minister Henryka Bochniarz. Discussion on the future of arms enterprises dominated today's Council of Ministers meeting. The solutions proposed by the Industry Ministry aim to create a system of arms enterprises on the prewar model:

[Begin Bochniarz recording] We will not meet the needs of many enterprises because, in my opinion, arms production for many of them was also a sort of smoke screen for hiding the low profitability of production and not seeking one's place in the market in a situation that has existed for a good few months now. [end recording]

The status of state arms enterprises was often a protective umbrella for inefficiency. A total of 80 enterprises have such a status. A total of 400 firms produce for the defense industry. The state budget has failed to pay them over Z [zloties] 1.5 billion. The national defense minister has promised to pay Z770 billion in dues. Restrictions on the purchase of arms by the Soviet Union, reduced orders from particular ministries, and the embargo imposed on the export of arms had the greatest influence on the current poor state of arms enterprises. The Council of Ministers declared that it would pay those enterprises that, in producing for foreign recipients, received government guarantees for the contracts signed. Cooperation with foreign partners and civilian production could be a chance for selected enterprises:

[Begin Bochniarz recording] This is the drawing of lots in this matter for today. The fundamental issues are, first, the definition of a defense doctrine. I don't want to discuss this matter, since I think this really is a matter for the men, and the national defense minister has been obligated to present such a doctrine as soon as possible. It is a question of production possibilities, regardless of whether this be defined as...[changes thought] Whether it will be 19 enterprises or 10 or 20, they will really be adapted to the needs of the Polish Army, both in the structure of their production and their stock. Finally, there are two things that are more long term: the issue of restructuring the arms industry and restructuring the aviation industry. [end recording]

The government approved the draft government ecological policy and adopted a bill on geology. This puts in order the principles for extracting natural resources and defines the duty of protecting the environment in mining operations and geological excavations. The Council of Ministers also approved the agreement between Poland and Germany on jointly combatting crime.

Walesa on Status, Future Progress of Reforms

AU0910093391 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2007 GMT 8 Oct 91

["Exclusive" interview with President Lech Walesa by Joana Radzyner in Warsaw; date not given; recorded—Walesa statements in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Walesa] I have done everything that was possible, although one may have done a few things in a better way. Now I can even admit it in public. I wanted to become president to pave the way for democracy and free elections. I did not expect that there would be no stones on our path toward democracy. Well, I think I have accomplished this task—elections will be held in a month's time, and major catastrophes are unlikely to occur before then. This was my most important objective.

As far as the future is concerned, I want to wait for about one year and see how cooperation works with the new Parliament. If it does not work, then I will resign, because my objective is the reform in Poland and the success of this reform.

[Radzyner] You have not been able to bend the current Parliament to your will. In the struggle over working out the election regulations for the upcoming elections—the first parliamentary elections that will be absolutely free—you had to give in, despite your two vetoes; you also had to give in on the issue of the special powers for the liberal government that you installed.

[Walesa] First of all, society, too, must become aware of who tries hard to change something and who tries to frustrate these efforts. Second, the current Parliament continues to be a product of the agreement with the former communists. I have been finding it very difficult to cooperate with such a parliament. This is the only reason why I made a public appearance in Parliament, and this is why I was unable to defend my arguments in the appropriate manner. However, all this is going to change after the elections.

[Radzyner] You are hoping that the next parliament will give the state president more powers—a dream that some of your fellow citizens might regard as the first step toward dictatorship.

[Walesa] Our problems are very difficult and require resolute action. Still, democracy is indeed indispensable. Nevertheless, democracy must not make the work more difficult. One must seek a middle road. I would have done that if we had held elections at an earlier date. If the situation here had been comparable with that of Czechoslovakia, for example, I would have achieved what I wanted. It would not have been a dictatorship, but only what is indispensable. However, I myself and Poland have been in a somewhat different situation. Has this been a great disadvantage? Yes and no.

So far, everything has been done by the elites, including myself. The nation only stood by and watched. Now the nation has come to understand what is important. If this nation supports us now, by shaking us and stirring us up a little, it will only be good for us. Besides, it would be something that has not happened anywhere else. Elsewhere, the elites have reached agreement quickly. That has not only been to our disadvantage, although I have not always been too happy about this development.

[Radzyner] There is very little time left until election day on 27 October. In the election campaign, the Center Accord, which is currently the dominant political factor in the President's Office, stands for a strong presidential system. On the other hand, the Democratic Union of former Prime Minister Mazowiecki advocates a strong parliament. Both parties were derived from the Solidarity movement. Lech Walesa's political ambition has driven a wedge into the former United Front.

The populist Party X of Walesa's rival Stan Tyminski does not constitute an acute danger for the heirs of Solidarity. It has been found guilty of fraudulent activities in the election campaign and was subsequently banned from running on a national level. The post-communist left, however, feels all the more assured. Recession and mass unemployment might benefit this party.

Nevertheless, according to recent opinion polls, almost two-thirds of those entitled to vote said they would not turn out on election day.

[Walesa] It is true that we have fallen out with one another and that our positions seem irreconcilable; we talk about different topics in different places and, at the top level, the politicians put the ball into each other's court. The nation looks on and no longer has the energy to turn its head and follow that ball. Life is hard and brutal, and we have failed in many respects. Nevertheless, reform will continue in Poland. There will be many problems, but everything has its price. The old trade relations have been severed, and CEMA has disintegrated, which has made our situation very difficult. We are currently facing problems everywhere.

We are witnessing the reforms in the Soviet Union, which we wanted. We were anxious to see democracy hold its own there too, and we also wanted the republics to become independent. However, we must not forget that all this has affected trade and economic cooperation in general. It may all be very nice, but it has its price.

Things are, of course, similar as far as the West is concerned. Initially, one had the impression that we would be able to achieve understanding more rapidly and be able to cooperate better.

[Radzyner] A traditional lamp factory in Warsaw is only the latest victim of these developments. The fact that the Soviet market was lost after the introduction of a payments system on the basis of hard currency, as well as cheap Western competitors, has forced the enterprise to lay off one-quarter of the work force, 500 women.

[Walesa] Within a short time, we will have repaired what we are destroying today. Of course, we have not destroyed anything for the fun of it, but because we were the first ones to embark on the path of reform. This is why we were overtaken by others, but we had no other choice. Relative to the historic dimension and the scope of our reform, this is the price that we have to pay for the revolution. We are paying slightly more than the others, but not for ever.

As a society, we must return Poland to the Poles. In concrete terms, this means comprehensive privatization. We have to dig up my old plans. It was impossible to implement them in the past, because the current Parliament obstructed my project and delayed democratic elections.

Opinion Poll Shows Solidarity Ahead of Democrats

AU0810110291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Oct 91 p 2

["E. Cz" report: "Solidarity Ahead of the Union"]

[Text] The latest survey by the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] indicates that 49 percent of the electorate will vote in the coming elections. That is the percentage of respondents who said they would vote. Seventeen percent said they would not vote, and some 30 percent were undecided.

Asked who they would vote for, most respondents replied Solidarity, with the Democratic Union in second place.

It is interesting to compare the results of this survey with those of another one conducted by the Public Opinion Survey Institute [CBOS], commissioned by RZECZPOSPOLITA. The differences are quite marked, even though both surveys were held at the same time. CBOS conducted its survey between 20 and 22 September with a sample of 1,500 people. In the CBOS survey, the Democratic Union came out on top, with 18 percent of the respondents saying they would vote for it. Solidarity earned second place in this survey, and the Liberal-Democratic Congress placed third. In the OBOP survey, the Liberal-Democratic Congress had 15th place.

Stolojan on Government Tasks, Ties With Moldova

AU0910102991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0947 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/10/1991—In an interview he granted in Bucharest to the TASS and Soviet television correspondents, Romanian Premier-Designate Theodor Stolojan spoke up for the expansion and consolidation of Romania's economic ties with the Soviet Union. He underscored that, despite the chronic problems worrying the people in the two countries, bilateral economic collaboration could not be overlooked. Both the Soviet Union, the republics that proclaimed their independence and Romania need to preserve their traditional commercial link. The economy must not suffer because of politics, said Mr. Stolojan. On the contrary, politicians are in duty bound to help fulfil bilateral pledges and fill the gap come up after CMEA's dissolution.

After referring to the difficulties he is encountering in forming the new government owing to the opposition's unwillingness to recognize the FSN's [National Salvation Front] preponderant right to settle the matter, motivating it in that party's losing a considerable number of supporters since elections, which in his opinion, is difficult to prove, the premier-designate specified that his mission was to find, out a compromise between parties and propose the parliament a governmental team by the end of next week. He added he did not intend to change the government's structure.

Mr. Stolojan assesses that one of the chief goals to be attained by his governmental team will be to "prepare the ground" for the activity of the government to be elected next year. It is a very difficult task for us to translate into fact, unpopular, but so necessary, measures for the convertibility of the national currency and the correlation of prices to salaries. He said that by solving such problems the future government would be able to concentrate on improving economic processes.

Referring to Romania's relations with the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Stolojan pointed out that "we must not anticipate" but Romania should grant due economic support to that republic, as much as it could, and expand its economic ties with it, underlining that Moldova's destiny was to be made by its people and only by them.

Iliescu Wants Equal Access to Western Credits

AU0810130991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1054 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/10/1991—"We wish to be granted credits for the recovery of the national economy," said President Ion Iliescu in an interview for the Swiss daily "24 HEURES," quoted by FSN's [National Salvation Front] organ "AZI."

"It is not humanitarian aid we need," said the president. "What we request is simply equal chances of access to Western credits." He reminded that in only two years Poland got over 25 billion dollars, credits to Hungary were doubled, while all Romania managed to squeeze was a bare billion dollars.

Ceausescu paid Romania's external debt at the expense of technology and of the people's living standard, burdening the Romanian economy with energy-devouring steel and petrochemical complex plants. That was what prompted us, the president specified, as early as January 1990, to draw up a transition strategy. When we tried to translate it into facts, we realised that the process would be complicated and would drag on due to inertia and old mentalities.

The president showed that, after 45 years of communism, most of the Romanian specialists are the fruit of this system. "In Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev are too, the result of the system prior to the perestroyka, and yet they are considered valid partners for negotiations."

Economic Decline, Import-Export Activity Viewed

AU0810130391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1112 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/10/1991—The evolution of Romania's economy knew the following important aspects over the first seven months of 1991, writes "TRIBUNA ECONOMICA":

—The industrial output contracted by 17.2 percents as against the same period of last year. For a batch of 180 representative industrial products and groups of products, relevant industrial capacities were used under 80 percents. At the beginning of July 1991, 275 of the 1860 industrial enterprises considered were loss-making and 175 had been granted state subsidies, mainly in the mining and power-producing industry.

Over the same period, the commercial balance of foreign trade activities on convertible currency was negative (trade on a clearing basis is being eliminated). Only 64.9 percent imports were covered by exports. They diminished by 11.7 percent as against 1991. Products were primarily exported that are energy-consuming. The volume of contracts unhonoured on July 31, 1991, was 16.5 percent bigger than that at the end of June 1991. Imports of raw materials and fuels decreased by only 7.8 percent as against the same period of 1990. In the month of July, exports were well adjusted to imports, which triggered a positive commercial balance (of 13.3 million dollars) for the first time in 1991.

As for home trade, retail sales at the end of July 1991, were 29 percent lower than the ones over the first seven months of 1990. That diminution is first accounted for by the reduction of foodstuff sales, which still hold an important place in a Romanian family budget. In a situation of economico-social instability and of continuous devaluing of the Romanian currency, the rhythm of

growth of the populations financial funds grew lower and lower, as a reaction to the imbalance between the growth of salaries and that of prices and because of investments in immovables. 287,156 flats built with state funds were sold to the population during the first half of 1991.

The index of market prices in July 1991 was 267.7 percents of that of October 1990, i.e. 281.5 percent for foodstuffs, 283.7 percent for non-edibles and 205.1 percent for services. Prices grew by 9.5 percent as against June 1991.

150,079 people (979,196 women) [figures as received] were reported unemployed on July 30 and were granted benefits; another 66,986 persons (47,655 women) were registered by work force offices. The figures are 21,347 and 135 respectively higher than in June 1991.

The index of the average take-home salary was 236.1 percent higher than in October 1990. But the average real salary, and therefore the purchasing power was reduced in fact by almost 12 percent because of a higher price growth.

Under the conditions of comparable prices, the volume of state investments represented—over the first seven months of 1991—70.9 percent of that of the same period of 1990, and the volume of building-assembly works 79.3 percent. Consequently fewer industrial capacities were completed. Only 9,893 flats were built until the end of July 1991, i.e. 37.5 percent of the number built over the same period of last year.

Unions Seek Social Contract With Government

AU0810130691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0900 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/10/1991—Trade unions opine for the conclusion of a national social contract with the government to be formed, that will be going to be endorsed by Parliament. That was the centerpiece of the National Trade Union Conference organised Monday, October 7, by five national union confederations.

The social peace thus obtained would create conditions for all forces to converge, that yearn for a real reform and for genuine democracy, mentioned Catalin Croitoru, representative of the "Fides" Confederation. Dumitru Iuga, representative of the Union Alliance "15 November" said in his address that the members of the Alliance were interested in the passage to a market economy, but only with social protection measures being taken, "that make it possible for us to maintain our status of human beings." "Social peace will be conditioned by the competence and the openness of the new government to dialogue with trade unions," added Mr. Iuga. In the last part of the conference, Constantin Cojocaru presented a draft economic and social 200-day-program made by the economic department of "Alfa" Union Cartel for "Romania to overcome the present crisis and requirements to be met for real democratisation, for a democratic efficient, stable and just market economy."

Magureanu on Investigation of Miners' Actions

AU0810195491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/10/1991—The miners' coming to Bucharest did not lack a real economic and social causality and it is not only incitation that should be blamed, Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], told a news conference on Tuesday, 8 October. Referring to Senator Gelu Voican Voiculescu's script regarding a plot against the government, the SRI director specified that numerous elements did not stand a thorough analysis. I have checked all assertions and no intention of a putsch had resulted, the SRI director stressed. I have even noted that numerous persons mentioned in that script had no connection with the events in September. Next he underscored that there were no data concerning the involvement of former members of the Securitate or of people presently working with the Romanian Intelligence Service in those events. We have no information that politicians would have paid visits to the Jiu Valley before the events in September, the speaker also said. In another string of ideas, Mr. Magureanu hinted that there were pieces of information attesting to the fact that among the miners there had been people who no longer worked in mines or had never worked in a mine. What is certain is the fact that the miners' coming to Bucharest was the outcome of the deep economic crisis, but an attempt at involving them in a political game should not be excluded. Against this background, the speaker said, which has led to the erosion of the political capital of the former government, I have expressed the opinion that the government team should be drastically revised, reminding that his opinion was interpreted as an interference in problems that are not of the competence of the intelligence service. The speaker denied to be in conflict with the resigning premier, Petre Roman although the latter together with the National Salvation Front had requested the resignation of the SRI director for his attitude in parliament. He said he had informed the ex-premier as early as August about the state of tension in the Jiu Valley after a talk with Miron Cosma who had threatened that a general strike would be called unless financial blocking was solved and waged indexed.

Nevertheless Mr. Magureanu admitted that there was a list of instigators now in the hands of the investigators who are to establish their guilt.

Answering a question Mr. Magureanu stressed that the Romanian Intelligence Service had no data according to which ex-King Mihai I would be an enemy of or have a hostile attitude towards Romania. We have never considered such a possibility, the speaker also said. In the same string of ideas he said the rumors about the ex-king intention to come to Romania during the events in

September were false and given the lie. Mr. Magureanu confirmed the piece of information that certain circles had made black lists with personalities that were to be arrested as well as a white list with those that were to take over power during the putsch in Moscow. They are the same persons who used to make similar lists in other occasions too, plotting, making plans and scenarios. The problem is to evaluate their dangerousness, Mr. Magureanu said, and we considered that the threat they posed was insignificant. We cannot say that Romania is subject to malefic scenarios. We could say the same about the existence of a potential putsch, and we cannot assess that everything happening in Romania is the outcome of the fight between conservatives and the democratic power.

Army Communique Rejects Involvement in 'Putsch'

AU0810173791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/10/1991—The Romanian Armed Forces has never wanted to take over power, in all their actions proving that they abide by the laws of the Romanian state, respect the democratic institutions set up by the people' will expressed in free elections, reads a communique released in Bucharest related to the aberrant, grave, calumnious, and slandering accusations brought against the Army by several publications, by "CONTRAST" magazine in particular. In Romania there is no officer and no general (active or retired) promoting such an idea or assuming such a risk with unforeseeable consequences for the destiny of the Armed Forces and of the country.

The insinuating assertions about generals who were or are with the leadership of the Armed Forces disseminated over this period when public opinion is so sensitive to the idea of putsch, in consideration of what happened in the Soviet Union, are part of the same anti-national infamous and tenacious actions of blaming the Army to the end of distracting it from its basic preoccupations of defending the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the constitutional order in the state.

The communique specifies that the Army is equidistant in its relations with the political organizations and groups, is not involved in politics the only policy it makes being that of defending Romania. The Armed Forces maintain their verticality and will not let themselves be manipulated by political forces, no matter which they might be.

The decision of the Defense Ministry is made public of suing those who harmed the dignity of the Romanian Army.

Barladeanu Comments on Demands for Resignation

AU0810195291 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 2-3 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu by Neli Luchian; place and date not given: "My Decapitation Is Wanted"]

[Text] [Luchian] How did you receive the demand by the signatory parties to the Charter for Democracy for your removal from the position of Senate president?

[Barladeanu] With very great interest. After all, we are talking about a decapitation, more precisely, my decapitation. Actually, I think that we are talking about a different episode of a wider scope. You remember that the first time, namely in January, the prime minister issued a communique on behalf of the government, whereby the FSN [National Salvation Front] parliamentarians were asked to dissociate themselves from the presidents of the two chambers [Senate and Deputies' Assembly]. The second episode regards the materials shaped in the government's laboratories that mentions the setting up of pressure groups within the Senate to eliminate Barladeanu, who was described as a populist. Now, the term applied to me is communist. I do not know whether this story will continue but, for me, this is a secondary problem. The problems of greatest importance are the political ones of the government.

[Luchian] In your view, is there a threat of leftist extremism in Romania?

[Barladeanu] There is always a threat of leftist or rightist extremism. This threat is of greater or lesser importance, depending on the people's standard of living. Certainly, there are also peripheral elements and former structures still hoping for the return of communism. However, no one, no lucid man, can still believe in the revival of this political system after going through communism. Only a few walk against the currents of history. However, proportionally with the deterioration of the living standard, the threat posed by extremism becomes a pressing one. There are countries with communist parties where no such problems are posed, but there are also countries without such parties where this threat can be noted. It would be a political mistake to merely draw attention to this threat, without trying to prevent it.

[Luchian] Are you, or aren't you, an advocate of reform?

[Barladeanu] I am an advocate. I believe that I am an older advocate of reform than many of today's patriots. I have come to this conclusion after numerous years of reflection and study. I am, maybe, among the first who spoke on television about the need to proceed to a new economy and to abandon former structures. I talked about the mixed period—through which we are going now—when elements of the market economy blend with those of the supercentralized system. But I ask myself, how will this reform be carried out? What is its rhythm?

What social costs are involved? Before the elections, promises were made to reduce social costs and ensure social protection. The government program provided certain deadlines. However, for a year and a half there has been talk of speeding up reform. I am asking myself: On what basis? At what costs?

[Luchian] What is your opinion about the speech Senator Voican-Voiculescu made in Parliament Monday evening?

[Barladeanu] I divided that speech into two parts: into a detective side, about which I do not want to say anything, and an attempt to profit from a certain mental state in order to propose a number of measures belonging to a different area. In connection with the latter concern, I have the impression that attempts are being made to solve the particular current problems by also assessing the activity carried out by the president.

Ministers Cite Achievements of Outgoing Government

AU0810142691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1254 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/10/1991—The newspaper "CURIERUL NATIONAL" prints the answers given by a number of ministers in the resigned government to a question concerning the achievements this government leaves behind:

Mr. Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism: A deep-going reform in the mechanisms of foreign and home trade and of tourism and their integration into the principles and rules of the free, market economy; the liquidation of the aberrant centralized management and of state monopoly in these areas; the autonomy of commercial units in decision-making; the passage to forms of private administration of activities and to privatization proper; the emergence of free initiative and of competition.

Mr. Traian Basescu, minister of public works, transport and physical planning (in office for only five months): The reorganization of the ministry; the relaunching of construction works on the Constanta-Sud Port, starting July; the ensurance of the funds needed to continue construction works on the Bucharest underground; the start of building operations on the Bucharest- Constanta motor way; the reorganization of the National Railway Company.

Mr. Bogdan Marinescu, minister of health: The reform in the health area, which is well under way; the rise in the quality of medical assistance owing to the technological re-equipment of the basic network, through a programme by the world bank, and of key units; the growth of cooperation on a governmental or non- governmental level, etc. The Ministry of Health proved a credible partner to the European Community, which reflects in the 30 million dollars offered under the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme and a 150-million-dollar loan approved by the World Bank.

Mr. Andrei Plesu, minister of culture: The great success of the companies of the National Theatre and the "Bulandra" Theatre in this country and abroad; the resumption of the "George Enescu" International Festival and Competition; the international week of new music; four exhibitions of Romanian art abroad; the creation of the Romanian Peasant's Museum; the foundation of an Institute for Eastern Studies; Romania's affiliation to all international cultural bodies and associations.

Mr. Victor Babiuc, minister of justice: The change in legislation; the reorganization of justice; the renewal of the staff and the change in the mentality of the justice apparatus. Internationally—our effort to integrate into the commandments of the UN, the CSCE and the Council of Europe, especially by safeguarding and consolidating fundamental human rights and the principles of justice, as they were enshrined in the final document in Copenhagen on July 29, 1990 and in other international legal instruments.

Mr. Valeriu Eugen Pop, minister of the environment: The creation of an Environment Ministry for the first time in Romania and the affiliation to almost all international bodies dealing with environmental protection, Romania even holding offices in these bodies; the adherence to numerous international conventions; the creation of an organizational framework to solve the problems in the Danube Delta; the creation of a Central Institute for Environmental Research and Engineering; the reorganization of activities for water and forest management; the establishment of international links whereby Romania is to benefit for financial assistance to solve environmental questions.

Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu, minister of the interior: The restructuring of the ministry; the renewal of the apparatus. The modernization and democratization of organizational structures; the initiation and progressive achievement of the necessary legal framework; the creation of a new system for the training of future staff; the intensification of cooperation with similar institutions in other countries.

FSN Postpones Rally, Calls For 'Stability'

AU0910082791 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 2 Oct 91 p 1

["Appeal for Stability and Calm—The Rally of the National Salvation Front Has Been Postponed"]

[Text] The rally of the National Salvation Front [FSN], scheduled to take place in Bucharest on Thursday, 3 October 1991, has been postponed. We believe that, at a time when the wounds caused by the previous week's tension in Bucharest still persist, when things must settle

down in the country, and when law and order must be fully restored, we cannot assume the risk of violent demonstrations that may occur as a result of likely provocations—as has happened on other occasions, during similar public displays.

The FSN has been, is, and will continue to be a party of stability and calm, a party for Romania's future and for the country's tranquility, a party determined to work consistently for social peace and for the people's dignity and freedom. Therefore, the rally that the FSN will and must organize will be an electoral rally—several electoral rallies—thus, clearly expressing the full respect for legality and the determination to participate under conditions of staunch competition in the political life of a democratic Romania. Therefore, it is worth emphasizing that this is only a postponement of FSN public meetings with its members and supporters. At the start of the electoral campaign, the FSN—the political grouping that emerged victorious in the first free elections—will again be among those that on 20 May 1990 put their trust in it to administer the complex process of Romania's rebirth along the road of democracy, pluralism, and social stability, as a state governed by the rule of law.

Therefore, the FSN calls on you to put your trust in it during the forthcoming electoral campaign, a trust that is based on the Front's unequivocal option for a dignified future for the Romanian people and for Romania.

Stolojan Appointment 'Compromise Solution'

AU0810113891 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Oct 91 p 1

[Florin-Gabriel Marculescu editorial: "A Compromise Solution"]

[Text] Mr. Theodor Stolojan's appointment to the position of prime minister does not come as a surprise. As I said on another occasion, it was only to be expected that the national leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN]—that is, (still) interim Prime Minister Roman—should impose his viewpoint vis-a-vis President Iliescu, hence the need for a sort of compromise, which has been reached. One should not forget that Mr. Roman continues to control a good part of the FSN majority in Parliament.

In proposing Mr. Stolojan, the former prime minister will continue to exert an overwhelming influence on the new government from behind the scenes. A finance minister in the second Roman government, Mr. Stolojan resigned from that position, declaring himself dissatisfied with the pace of reform. Nevertheless, he was rapidly brought back and, in recent months, has been put in charge of the large and small privatization, adding his name, as co-author, to the draft law that gave birth to the most stormy debates in the short history of our Parliament, a law which was only passed after strong pressure from the government. As a sign of protest, the majority opposition parties refused to participate in the discussions on that law. Anyway, the falsely independent Stolojan is not a political figure in the proper sense of the word; that is probably the reason why he was chosen. One could probably give him the accolade of financier; however, beyond his strict specialty, one cannot see him easily coping with the situation. He is exactly what Mr. Roman needed: a man who can be led from behind the scenes.

Both Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman believe that the new government will have to continue (!?) the democratization of our social and political life, particularly the process of reform. However, we do not see how it will manage to do this. It is worth mentioning that Mr. Stolojan showed common sense and lucidity in his first statement, which emphasized, among other things, the serious financial imbalances he will have to cope with in the absence of practically any resources. He will be faced with the effects of the international isolation into which we were pushed—deliberately, one should say—for the second time in just over one year. What will the new government look like, and what formula will be chosen for its composition?—These are subjects on which Mr. Stolojan must ponder most seriously. To form the government, as President Iliescu suggests, by observing the ratio of the parties' representation in Parliament would show great political shortsightedness. The FSN, whose popularity decreased from 67 percent to 25 percent, should no longer aspire toward a monochrome composition, tinged for the occasion with the marginal presence of parties from the Charter for Reform and Democracy, as happened during the known governmental reshuffle. For it was not only Mr. Roman that was contested, but the Front's whole bankrupt policy. The presence of Messrs. Surdu, Patriciu, Bleahu, and so forth, in the government will not lead to calming down the foreseeable chain of social conflicts. The outlook should be broader and more generous. In our opinion, the only reasonable solution would be the creation of a government of technicians, in preparation for early elections, to be held as soon as possible. This would be the wise thing to do, but we doubt that the Front will agree to give up its pride and align itself with a moderate line, in accordance with prevailing realities. It goes without saying that my thoughts written here are just a few preliminary comments.

Campeanu Interviewed on New Government Formula

AU0810101691 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 2 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with National Liberal Party President Radu Campeanu by Paul Dobrescu; place and date not given: "Our Party Can Be a Great Ruling Party"]

[Text] [Dobrescu] Following recent events, everyone or almost everyone embraced the idea of a government of national unity, which you mentioned on 13 December. Does this please you?

[Campeanu] To a certain extent it pleases me, but I cannot help having a feeling of sadness. Had such a government been set up when I proposed it, together with the liberal parliamentarians, I am sure by now we would have reaped the results. A year has passed since then. Now, during the current crisis, the idea of a government of national unity seems to be the only

solution; however, it can no longer prove all its virtues, because of the short time that still remains.

[Dobrescu] What do you understand by a government of national unity?

[Campeanu] I understand a government made up of the top people of representative political parties in this country. What do I mean by representative political parties? First, I mean parties with party organizations in all the counties of our country. This means parties represented throughout the country. Second, I am talking about parties that have been and continue to be important for the current political activity and that have had weight in the history of Romanian politics. Finally, I am talking about parties that have not only something to say at home, but that are also known and enjoy a certain prestige abroad. In our view, a government of national unity should include figures from these parties. I do not rule out the participation of figures from other parties provided, however, that such participation is not imposed and that the respective figures are not compromised people.

[Dobrescu] There is talk that the government should be set up on a proportional basis, that is by respecting the proportion of the parties as established by the 20 May elections. Do you share this view?

[Campeanu] One can clearly note an evolution in the Romanian public's opinion in this respect. To speak today about the proportions that resulted from the 20 May elections means to live in the realm of fiction. And we will not tolerate such fiction.

[Dobrescu] There are people—even within the ranks of some opposition formations—who promote the idea of a government of technocrats...

[Campeanu] I have the feeling that our country's president also likes such a formula. In our opinion, a government of technocrats does not meet current Romanian requirements, because it will be unable to made any important decisions. However, our current situation requires exactly such decisions. On the other hand, such a government could seem like a personal government of the country's president.

[Dobrescu] The party you are heading proposes an independent figure as head of such a government. Whom do you have in mind?

[Campeanu] I have proposed three names to the president: A high Romanian prelate, namely, the metropolitan of Moldova, a Romanian general, and a university professor.

[Dobrescu] Do you believe that during such difficult times, full of pressing economic problems, the nomination of a prelate as prime minister is a suitable thing to do?

[Campeanu] Our thought was to propose a personality that is beyond any suspicion or controversy. We need social peace more than ever before, and we believe that the metropolitan of Moldova would be able to do a great deal in this direction.

[Dobrescu] According to the latest opinion poll by IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Polls], from an electoral point of view, the percentage of the National Liberal Party has increased from 6-7 percent in the elections to 10 percent. This opinion poll took place five months ago. What can you tell us about the party's development since then?

[Campeanu] One can note a real increase, particularly in the past two months. This is felt by all sides. Recently we held our permanent delegation (editorial note: The party's steering forum) meeting. I was really impressed not only by the number of participants—which proves the development of our party's organizations—but also by the mature way in which the people from the counties assessed the political situation. I was so pleased that at the end I said our party could be a great ruling party.

[Dobrescu] What is your party's territorial representation at this time?

[Campeanu] On the basis of reports presented during the delegations' meeting, I realized that in 50-60 percent of the villages we have well-established organizations or important cells. I am not speaking of one to two followers; 90 percent of the villages have several members. There are very strong organizations in numerous villages. And—very strange—this applies not only to Transylvania but also to Iasi, Bacau, Galati, that is to Moldova, and to Dolj or Caras-Severin. This is a real achievement.

[Dobrescu] What about its regional representation? Where are you most strongly represented?

[Campeanu] First, I will tell you where our representation is the weakest. For instance, it is weak in Ialomita County because, up to now, organizational work has been a weak point of ours. Very recently, however, an organizational change has taken place, and I hope that things will improve. Our representation in Salaj County is also weak. However, we are strongly represented in Timis and Caras-Severin, in the sense that we are very well organized in those counties. The same applies to Prahova, where certain things remain to be done, and in Galati and Constanta. We are quite well organized in the north and south of Transylvania, in Bistrita-Nasaud and Cluj. Hunedoara is improving. We are doing very well in Bihor and in other counties.

[Dobrescu] There is a feeling, and so-called public events suggest, that there are problems and even dissensions at the top of your party. Is this true, and to what extent does this apply?

[Campeanu] No. No! I do not know to what you are referring. There are certain rumors about this. There have been differences, yes, differences in opinion from the bottom to the top, rather than at the top. As in many such cases, dissatisfied voices were not well-informed. We have also taken a number of measures in the sense of assigning responsibilities. These things have been sorted out.

[Dobrescu] I will now summarize the opinion of a middle-aged supporter holding a lesser prominent position in your party. We would like—he told me—to remove Mr. Sandulescu and Mr. Enescu. As for yourself, he spared you. Are these conflicts strong enough to cause a split?

[Campeanu] No mister, no! No way. I even wonder who could have said such a foolish thing. He must be a choleric, visceral type of person. True, there have been enough trends against Mr. Sandulescu and fewer against Mr. Enescu, and at a certain point, there were strong views against Mr. Lazarescu. And that was all! I do not want to say that all of them were, but most of them were fanned from outside the party. True, there are some—two to three such cases—abroad who voice dissatisfaction. They are the ones who missed the boat.

Talks With Bulgaria's Environment Minister End

AU0810172991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1625 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/10/1991—Talks ended in Bucharest on 8 October between Romanian and Bulgarian ministers of the environment, Valeriu Eugen Pop and Dimitur Vodenicharov.

Difference in the laws of the two countries prevented the signature of a government agreement on the environment, even though the Romanian side was empowered to do so, a joint press release showed. However, its text was agreed and signature is expected shortly in the Bulgarian capital.

Moreover, the Romanian minister told a news conference after the talks, the draft of a UNDP [United Nations Devekionebt Origran]-financed regional programme on the management of environment and economic development with its center at Chisinau [Kishinev] could not be discussed as "the Bulgarian side reserved its right to consider the matter and make its position known in the shortest possible time".

The two sides exchanged information on the nuclear power station at Kozloduy in the spirit of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] report and stated their interest in the resolution of nuclear safeguards. The Rosen report for IAEA will be put at the disposal of the Romanian side. The nuclear power stations at Kozloduy and Cernavoda will be visited by Romanian and Bulgarian experts.

Federal

Cease-Fire Memorandum of Agreement of 8 Oct

LD0910083991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0705 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] A cease-fire was agreed last night. This is a translation of the memorandum of agreement. [Zagreb Radio in Serbo-Croatian prefaced its version by stating that the Serbo-Croatian is a translation from the English]

On Tuesday, 8 October 1991 in Zagreb, General Andrija Raseta, representing the Federal Secretary for National Defense of the Government of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and Mr. Stjepan Adamic, deputy minister of defense of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, and Colonel Imre Agotic, member of the General Staff of the Croatian Armed Forces, acting as plenipotentiaries for their respective authorities, met under the auspices of the European Community, represented by Ambasador D. J. van Houten, and bearing in mind the agreement signed in The Hague on 4 October 1991 agreed that:

1. The effective entry into force of a general cease-fire in the territory of Croatia is confirmed as of 1800 [1700 GMT] Tuesday, 8 October 1991 and will be strictly respected by both parties as long as they participate in the peace conference on Yugoslavia.

2. Further steps toward consolidating the cease-fire will be pursued energetically during the coming days.

3. The blockade by land and sea imposed currently in all manners by both sides throughout the Adriatic coast and its hinterland will simultaneously be lifted and this with the purpose of restoring free movement of people, supplies, and facilities. Units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] can leave with their means of transport, technical material, weapons intact, military equipment, and other mobile military property.

4. The blockade of the Borongaj barracks in Zagreb will be lifted with immediate effect and the withdrawal of the units stationed there will be set in hand immediately, to be completed by 1800 hours, Saturday, 12 October 1991. The YPA units can leave with their means of transport, technical material, weapons intact, military equipment, and other mobile military property.

5. Immediate steps will be taken to organize relief supplies of food and medicine to the civilian populations of the Vukovar and Vinkovci area.

6. In accordance with the memorandum of understanding of 1 September 1991 extending its activities through Croatia, the European Community monitoring mission deployed in Croatia will lend its best efforts to monitoring the effective implementation of all the provisions of this agreement.

The agreement was signed by Gen. Andrija Raseta, Stjepan Adamic, Col. Imre Agotic, and Ambassador Dirk Jan van Houten.

Presidency Discusses Negotiations With Croatia

LD0910122291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today. Vice-President Branko Kostic chaired the session.

Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, briefed the SFRY Presidency on the negotiations which a representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is conducting with representatives of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb regarding SFRY Presidency conditions for a cease-fire and the unblocking of barracks in Croatia.

The SFRY Presidency endorsed what has been agreed so far and gave instructions for the continuation of these talks.

Regarding a previously announced possibility that the federal secretary for national defense will be called to attend the next session of the Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia, the SFRY Presidency agreed to Veljko Kadijevic's participation at the session and gave him instructions for the conference.

Committee Proposes Peace Conference Participation

LD0810212191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—At today's meeting of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber it was proposed that the Yugoslav Assembly should take part in the peace conference in The Hague by placing the Federal Chamber, its legislative body, "at the disposal of the conference for ideas, initiatives and cooperation in all forms, all with the aim of resolving the Yugoslav crisis as quickly as possible."

The meeting of the committee, which convened today after a two-month break, was not attended by deputies from Slovenia and Croatia.

Assistant Federal Foreign Secretary Novak Pribicevic said that there "does not exist any readiness that the European Community recognize the independence of certain parts of the country before the conclusion of the conference in The Hague."

Parliamentary Deputy Mijat Sukovic demanded that it be explained to the Assembly if the Yugoslav Presidency has adopted a duly signed decision on the country being in a state of an immediate threat of war, or if it simply a political assessment by the Presidency. If it is only a political judgement of the Presidency, then it is binding only for its own members, Sukovic said.

Assembly To Operate Under 'War' Conditions

AU0910132691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The SFRY Assembly is to start working under the conditions of a direct war danger. This ensues from the

announcement the SFRY Presidency presented to the Federal Parliament on the occasion of its own decision made on 3 October in which it assessed that conditions exist for the Presidency to act in the way envisaged by the Constitution for the conditions of a direct war danger. This in fact means that the Assembly, that is, the Federal Chamber will begin acting under (?constitutional) conditions, so, according to the rules of procedure, it can hold a closed session, adopt laws and other documents in an urgent procedure, and elect new federal officials or relieve federal officials of their duties, that is, the government as well, without the proposal of the Commission for Elections and Appointments.

Under the conditions of the direct war danger, the Federal Chamber may also work without a quorum.

FEC Secretary on 9 Oct Session, Functions

LD0810142591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—Asked by a TANJUG correspondent about Federal Executive Council [FEC] activities, FEC Secretary General Zoran Miskovic stated that a regular session of the FEC, which had earlier been convened in a usual procedure, would be held tomorrow afternoon.

Among other issues, the session will examine a report on the participation of the FEC representatives at the Hague peace conference, activities of the federal bodies regarding the implementation of a cease-fire agreement, problems in connection with energy supplies in the country, and other issues within the FEC's competence. The FEC and the federal administration bodies are carrying out their duties and tasks normally in the given circumstances.

Justice Ministry Urges Adoption of Cease-Fire

LD0810220591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2037 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Justice Ministry today called on the warring sides in the Republic of Croatia to lay down arms, honour the ceasefire agreement and deal with all problems at the conference table. A statement released from the ministry says that no ends can justify the enormous losses in human life, destruction of historical landmarks, cultural and economic facilities and demolition and plundering of homes, towns and villages.

The Justice Ministry points out that the war in Croatia is being waged with a total disregard for the basic provisioms of the international conventions which regulate conduct to the civilian population, the wounded, the sick and the prisoners. The statement recalls that Yugoslavia is a signatory to the conventions and that, under its penal code, it is a crime to resort to illegitimate methods of combat. About 10,000 citizens of the town of Mostar in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrated for ending the war, under the slogan "stop them before they stop us from living."

The participants in a gathering of the youth Hek Zvmig appealed to all forces in Yugoslavia, Europe and the world to take urgent steps to stop the war in Croatia. The gathering was attended by youths from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Kostic Threatens To Use Force Against Blockades

LD0810224591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—If the Croatian leadership does not accept conditions and lifts the blockade of barracks in that Republic, then the Yugoslav People's Army and we, as the Supreme Command, have no other option but to use force to lift the blockade from military facilities and personnel. SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic said this in a Belgrade television current affairs program this evening.

Kostic said the Croatian leadership is not ready to accept any of the proposed peace agreements. They want to gain time to arm the forces, Kostic stressed, adding that he does not trust the Croatian leadership anymore.

Mitrovic Deplores Croatia's 'Secessionist' Moves

LD0810225591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Vice Premier Aleksandar Mitrovic says in a letter sent today to Lord Carrington that the latest decisions taken by the parliaments of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia are a "gross violation of the Yugoslav Constitution... and an escalation of secessionist behaviour."

In his letter to the chairman of the Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia, Mitrovic says that the Slovenian and Croatian parliaments yesterday and today, respectively, adopted documents on secession despite the federal government's request to refrain at least for the duration of the conference.

The Croatian parliament today unanimously voted to "proclaim an independent and sovereign state of Croatia." Under this decision, the "Republic of Croatia severs all state and legal ties on the basis of which it has, together with the other republics and provinces, formed former Yugoslavia."

The Slovenian parliament released no statement from its closed-door session yesterday. The republican parliament today passed a law, which took effect immediately, establishing the republic's own currency, the tolar.

In his letter to Lord Carrington, Mitrovic recalls that the organs of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia had "taken their decisions to leave Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991, after a series of anti-constitutional acts."

The decisions were suspended for three months and, according to the Slovenian and Croatian interpretation, the moratorium on their application expired yesterday.

The federal government declared the decisions of Slovenia and Croatia of June 25 as unilateral and unlawful and has taken a series of measures to ensure a normal functioning of the state of Yugoslavia, Mitrovic recalls.

"It is well known to you that Slovenia and Croatia have opposed these measures of the Federal Government and other federal bodies even with armed force," Mitrovic says in his letter to Lord Carrington.

Mitrovic informs Lord Carrington that "all members of the federal government, without exception, have been against" the motion of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic for the dismissal of the federal defence secretary and his deputy.

According to Mitrovic, the federal government members have taken the view that such a step would weaken the chances of a ceasefire as a basic prerequisite for a democratic and peaceful way out of the Yugoslav crisis.

Kadijevic Bans Political Parties in Armed Forces

LD0810164791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—A service of the Federal Information Secretariat has been authorized to publish an order by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, banning party organizations and activities in the SFRY Armed Forces. Here is the order:

"Recent amendments and supplements to the law on all people's defense explicitly state that neither political parties nor other forms of political associations nor their internal organizations can be set up in the Armed Forces commands, headquarters, units, and institutions. The full departization of the Armed Forces has thus been completed, including a ban on any form of political and party activity in army units and institutions.

In spite of this, some parties are trying to spread their influence on officers and civilians working for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] through their members who are also YPA members. They are even trying to set up party organizations to achieve their political goals. Bearing in mind that such activity is prohibited by law and that party activity cannot be permitted in the Armed Forces, as a state institution, and on the basis of Article 64 paragraph 2, and Article 110 paragraph 1 of the law on all people's defense, I am ordering that:

1. Any form of political and party activity is strictly banned in the Armed Forces commands, headquarters, units and institutions;

2. Strict disciplinary and other legal measures are undertaken against YPA members in YPA commands, units, and institutions, who are spreading or realizing party political programs or are acting from party positions;

3. Civilians who are trying to spread party influence—which has a detrimental impact on the capability of the armed forces to carry out their tasks—are banned from entering YPA institutions and facilities; in more serious cases, charges will be filed with competent military and civilian persecution bodies;

4. Command officers and officers at all levels are directly responsible for the enforcement of this order;

5. The entire Army corps must be briefed about the order.

Air Force Statement on Bihac Airport Attack

LD0810184791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—The Air Force and Air Defense Command has sent the following statement to TANJUG:

The Croatian leadership and its fighters have remained true to themselves and their secessionist policies in marking every attempt to establish peace as a condition for negotiations with even fiercer armed attacks on the installations and barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA].

Thus today at 1230, only 12 hours after the announcement of the cease-fire, the Croatian combatants carried out a surprise mortar attack on Bihac airport. As this airport is situated on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the question arises whether this, like so many other insane attacks on the YPA during cease-fires, is also an answer from Mr. Tudjman to the recent statement from Mr. Izetbegovic on a declaration of the complete neutrality of this republic in connection with the dramatic war events in the country.

Is there anyone who needs convincing that it is impossible to negotiate on a cease-fire and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis with the Croatian leadership and their fascist-styled armed formations, when they clearly do not want to do so?

This armed attack was answered with appropriate firing at the enemy from Bihac Airport. There were no dead or injured among the defenders of the airport, but there was slight material damage, the statement of the Air Force and Air Defense information service concludes.

Air Force Command: Palace Explosion 'Rigged'

LD0810233491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2032 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—Croatian investigative bodies today announced that the palace of the president of that Yugoslav republic, Franjo Tudjman, was yesterday hit by a guided missile, whereas military authorities, on the basis of Croatian television reports, give it as their opinion that the "explosion was rigged."

The statement released by the Croatian investigators and carried by Croatian television says that "missile fragments" have been found at the Banski Dvori Presidential Palace in Zagreb. [passage omitted]

The Air Force Command today released a statement to the effect that, after an interrogation of the pilots, it was established that none of them had carried out an unauthorized raid on Tudjman's palace.

The statement stresses that the minor damage to the palace as shown on Croatian television could not have been produced by a guided missile.

Television reports showed "superficial damage, of very little depth, over a large area," the statement says and adds that this kind of damage is inconsistent with a bombing from the air.

"A regular bomb would have blown a crater of at least one metre deep... And a guided missile would have demolished the load bearing elements in the structure and destroyed Banski Dvori beyond recognition," the statement says.

Television films showed details such as intact paintings on the walls, chairs not overturned in the blast and a completely undamaged chandelier. All this indicates that this was a "stage-managed media spectacle" which is part and parcel of a "dirty plot against the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]," the statement says.

"This was an explosion of a low charge of a probably plastic explosive, rigged at a certain height above the floor," Col. Milanko Cvijovic, a YPA expert on explosives and air force armament, has told TANJUG.

Defense Secretariat Promotes Combat Officers

LD0810211591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal National Defense Secretariat Information Service has passed to TANJUG the following statement:

"For exceptional conduct and bearing in the pursuit of combat tasks of special significance for our Armed Forces and the defense of our country and for successful command and leadership initiative and personal bravery, by SFRY Presidency Decree No. 1/49, dated 4 October 1991, the following nonroutine promotions have been made:

—Infantry Colonel Ratko Mladic will become major general, group captain.
—Ljubomir Bajic will become air vice marshal.
—Captain Krsto Djurovic will become rear admiral." [passage omitted]

By the federal national defense secretary's decree No. 7-132, dated 7 October 1991, the following nonroutine promotions have been made:

—Lieutenant Colonels Stevo Bogojevic, Tripko Cecovic, Borislav Djukic, Zdravko Tolimir, Ivan Vlacic, Desimir Garovic, Dragisa Masal, Milenko Zivanovic, Slavko Lisica, and Ratko Simic have been promoted to colonel rank.
—Majors Cveto Milenkovic and Cedomir Curcin have been promoted to lieutenant colonel rank. [passage omitted]

Economic Chamber President Submits Resignation

LD0810170591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Economic Chamber President Dagmar Suster today submitted a demand to be relieved from the post.

TANJUG learned that Suster sent the demand to the Economic Chamber's assembly.

Dagmar Suster will inform journalists about his reasons for making this move at a news conference on 9 October.

International

USSR Demands Croatia Lift Barracks Blockade

AU0910091691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] A demand by the Soviet leadership to the Croatian leadership asking that the blockade on the Yugoslav People's Army barracks in Croatia should be lifted was publicized in Moscow this morning. It is pointed out that it is no longer tenable to postpone the implementation of The Hague agreement. This Soviet demand was handed to the Croatian leadership through the Soviet Consulate in Belgrade.

Mesic Urges UN To Establish Buffer Zone

LD0910003291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Stipe Mesic, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, today asked the UN Security Council to establish a buffer zone between Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croatia to enable European observers to establish who the aggressor is in the conflict between the Croatians and the Serbs, AFP reports.

There is no political will for peace in Yugoslvioa, Mesic said during a news conference in the European Parliament in Strasbourg after meeting the assembly president. Mesic said that the federal soldiers must immediately leave their barracks in Croatia but without their weapons which have been paid for by the Croatians. We Croatians are for the cease-fire, but this must not be interpreted in such a way that the Croatian forces are disarmed while the Federal Army is in Zagreb, Mesic added. He is planning to visit other European countries before returning to Yugoslavia.

Notes Intention To Remain President

LD0910005691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2225 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Strasbourg, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—"I am not contemplating resignation", said Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Strasbourg today where he was the guest of the European Parliament.

"This is the absurd aspect of my situation", said Mesic during his news conference tonight, explaining that should he resign "Kostic, one of the putschists" would take over the office of the Presidency president.

This is still the only legitimate institution in Yugoslavia, Mesic believes, and as its president "I am in a position to explain what actually is happening in the country."

In Mesic's assessment "the war was imposed" on Croatia. "It could very rapidly go beyond the Yugoslav borders".

Expanding on this, at the insistence of the journalists, he said that 3 million Albanians live in Yugoslavia to which Albania is not indifferent and about 500,000 Hungarians about whom Budapest is concerned which could all very easily lead to inter-state conflicts. So, Mesic stressed "that the time of appeals has come to an end and that the international community and Europe especially have to activate additional mechanisms". He suggested that their action should be reduced to the creation of a buffer zone between Croatia and Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, and between Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina..

"The war was imposed on Croatia to deprive her of the territories that have been hers for 1,000 years, while the Army is fighting to keep its privileges", was Stipe Mesic's reply to the question what the causes of the current crisis in Yugoslavia are. He added "that the Army is controlled by Slobodan Milosevic and that he is conducting an aggressive war for which reason international community actions are required."

Stipe Mesic warned Europe "that it must understand ultimately that new realities are being established in Yugoslavia and that it should recognize them". He expects therefore that soon a country will be the first one to recognize Croatia just as some time ago "Dubrovnik was the first to do so concerning the United States".

Mesic also said that yesterday "he cheated death by five minutes". Speaking of the air attack on Banski Dvori he explained that he had left the luncheon with Tudjman and Markovic and the room five minutes before it was hit by a missile.

Party Leader Against 'Outside Interference'

LD0910130991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Strasbourg, October 9 (TANJUG)—The leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, Dragoljub Micunovic, said there were only two possibilities for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis—either to restructure the present federation, under an agreement of all sides, or form several independent states.

Micunovic, who was invited to Strasbourg by the representatives of national parties in the European Parliament, said last night that both these solutions needed an absolute ceasefire and an agreement on the principles of a settlement.

Micunovic pointed out that the policy of fait accompli had failed, pointing out that the Yugoslav peoples themselves had to find a solution for their own crisis.

He said that outside interference and a military intervention would only lead to a further escalation of the conflict.

Plenary Session in The Hague Postponed

LD0810180391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The Hague, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—The initiative to hold a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague tomorrow, and to invite Serbian and Croatian Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman and Federal Secretary for National Defense Valjko Kadijevic, will not be implemented "at this moment." The Dutch Foreign Ministry and the General Secretariat of the conference (on Yugoslavia) informed TANJUG about this. [passage omitted]

According to this evening's information from representatives of the Dutch Foreign Ministry and the conference's General Secretariat, it was decided that there is no need to hold a meeting until further notice. When the next meeting is convened depends on future developments in Yugoslavia, which is currently being perceived in The Hague as peaceful.

Slovenia

Border Crossings With Croatia Open 8 Oct

AU0810161491 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Today, on the first day of Slovene independence, border crossings with Croatia have started operating. There are 34 crossings. Militia and customs organs are controlling traffic everywhere. According to correspondents' reports, there are no major difficulties, and refugees and others have been arriving from Croatia unhindered. There are also no obstacles to go to Croatia.

The question of daily arrivals of Croatian citizens to work in Slovene enterprises will be regulated in the coming few days.

The flow of goods is going on [words indistinct]. This applies to the Gorica region and the border crossings with Austria and Hungary. There have been only a few passengers in the Gorenjska region, and some of those who already possessed Slovene passports had no problems at Austrian customs.

At midnight, customs offices were given new Republic of Slovenia signs and have been using new stamps and new forms since midnight.

As regards international road border crossings with Croatia, our correspondents report that they are not what they should be. Construction is continuing at most of the crossings, and customs officers and militiamen are still being trained. [passage omitted]

Dinar Legal Currency Until Tolar Issued

AU0810141891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1200 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpts] As is known, at its session behind closed doors last night, the Assembly of Slovenia adopted the law on the monetary unit of the republic of Slovenia and the law on its use. The laws will be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia Number 17, which will come out this afternoon. This means that the laws come into force today. The laws envisage that the official currency of the Republic of Slovenia is the tolar, which is divided into 100 stotina.

Banknotes and coins that are marked with the new Slovene monetary unit with the shortened name (?SLT) are the only legal means of payment on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Until banknotes and coins marked with tolar, that is, stotina are issued today, the legal means of payment are the bonds of the Republic of Slovenia.

The law on the use of the new Slovene monetary unit also states that the withdrawal of dinar banknotes and coins should begin today. Since this has still not begun, the republic's Finance Ministry warns all participants in the payment system in Slovenia that they are obliged to use dinar cash and non-cash payment. Today, the use of dinars or checks with dinar values is still allowed. [passage omitted]

The Law on the Monetary Unit of the Republic of Slovenia also states, among other things, that beginning today, exchange rates for foreign currencies are to be established by the central bank; that is, the Bank of Slovenia. We have been told at the Ljubljana Exchange that the exchange rate for cash, checks, and letters of credit that was established for some currencies on 3 October and published in the foreign exchange list No. 15 is not valid beginning today. To make things more understandable, let us say that it is the foreign exchange list according to which the rate of exchange of the German mark was 26.53 dinars.

On the basis of this report and in conformity with statements by Slovene Government representatives known so far—to the effect that the tolar exchange rate will be set to suit exports—we can conclude that the Bank of Slovenia will order a higher exchange rate today; that is, that one German mark will be more than 26.53 tolars.

The Law on the Use of the Monetary Unit of the Republic of Slovenia also states that until new papers—stamps, checks, money orders, and other means of making payments internally—are issued, the current valid means of payment will remain in use. [passage omitted]

Croatia

Foreign Minister Calls For EC, UN Action

LD0910103491 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic in Brussels, by Nicholas Owen in London on 7 October; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Owen] A few minutes ago I spoke to Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic, who's at the European Commission in Brussels. I asked him first, whether today's bombing in Zagreb marked a major escalation of the conflict.

[Separovic] I'm afraid it is the start of the major full-scale war of the Yugoslav, communist, Serbian-dominated army that is Serbian reservist and units against Croatia. It is the heaviest bombing in Europe since the Second World War. It is at the same time the heaviest one after the Iraq-Kuwait War. I do not know what the world is doing. I do not know why the politicians do not understand and do not act to stop the aggressors.

[Owen] In a few hours time, Croatia and Slovenia, indeed, are due to go independent. Will that now happen? What do you expect the results of that to be?

[Separovic] It's going to be what is the will of the nation, of the people. We shall ask for recognition, and tomorrow, maybe even before, my president will ask in the name of the parliament, which was supposed to meet tomorrow 100 meters away from the place where the bombs had been dropped this afternoon—if they will not be in session, there will be a proposal which will go in direction toward EC countries and United Nations—that the peace conference on Yugoslavia should proceed in order to recognize independent sovereign states, Slovenia and Croatia, and others if they are willing.

[Owen] Mr. Separovic, if I could just break in, the European Community has talked of trade sanctions against Yugoslavia. Do you think that is the way ahead? Will that help Croatia?

[Separovic] Once more, Croatia will be hit by such a decision, for the first time it was the decision of arms embargo, that decision was bad decision. Not that it has been meant to be bad one, but it's effect was bad because a nation which was willing to protect itself was left unarmed.

[Owen] What of trade sanctions, though?

[Separovic] We expect now economic sanctions, but we expect much more. We believe that the world must say who is the aggressor and must stop the aggression.

[Owen] I gather that you had talks with the Germans. Did anything come of that? Anything solid?

[Separovic] Yes. They gave us support, full support, in our efforts to declare our independence and to bring the case to the EC country's peace conference on Yugoslavia, in order to discuss it, what to do in the association of Yugoslavia. We are not ready to discuss any kind of revival of keeping alive a creature, a construction called Yugoslavia which is dead.

Further Reportage on Croation Assembly Session

Greguric on War Damages, Reparations

LD0810135491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric, in his opening speech at today's session of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, said that details on war damages in Croatia are being collected, on the basis of which war reparations may be demanded. He said that according to a preliminary assessment of the republican commission, war damages—which so far include damaged and destroyed property, seized property and goods, stolen goods and agricultural products; losses in industrial production, traffic and tourism, agriculture, expenses in an indirect or direct connection with the war—totaled approximately $10.5 billion as of the beginning of September.

Greguric added that war damages in the present phase of war are increasing and will soon reach the sum of $15 billion.

Greguric on 'Partial' Mobilization

LD0810180291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Franjo Greguric at the Croatian Assembly session in Zagreb on 8 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] We believe that there is no need for a general mobilization but that there is need for a partial mobilization to the extent to which we are able to arm, equip, train, and send people to the battlefields. Full mobilization was carried out in the embattled municipalities; this is logical because they should be prepared to defend themselves as this is completely different from a situation in which people do not know the area. I will not dwell on this, but there are reasons.

Regarding the crisis headquarters, the first and basic demand made when the government of democratic unity was created at the last Assembly session and when a 10-point agreement—which many of you have forgotten—was signed was that military authority is separate from civilian authority. The crisis headquarters held all the power and certainly did what was demanded, to begin with, both in Slavonia and even in Banija and Dalmatia. They organized everything needed for a war, which has been spreading daily and which finally involved units from Serbia, not just the Yugoslav Army. In that situation, we certainly needed a crisis headquarters. The crisis headquarters, however, overstepped its powers. It began to confiscate goods; it entered banks and took money. No one has the right to this. No one can just confiscate someone else's car. If someone needs a car, if someone needs supplies to feed the Army, then a military command ought to appeal to a civilian authority to fill those demands. Demands on administrators are dangerous. What is an administrator? He is de facto a commissioner, who has all powers and the power to do as he pleases. I do not mean this in a pejorative sense, but this is fact. I am simplifying it. It is dangerous to demand to resolve issues by toppling legal bodies and appointing administrators, because then you are washing your hands of your responsibility toward your municipalities and placing all responsibility on the government. I am proud of this government, I am proud of my colleagues. We held talks with the 10 political parties in the government. All of them supported two basic issues: the battle for the homeland and the prevention of party squabbling—currently, most arguments are within the Croatian Democratic Community. Second, let us get our forces together now, and then after the war settle all accounts. We should not lose sight of the main objective because of details. [passage omitted]

I believe it important to say this now: Please, think about political coexistence. We cannot expel them all. We cannot expel all Serbs from Croatia nor force Croats from other areas to come here. We should not make enemies among those who do not join the Army, who are fleeing, who are terrorized. We are placing them all in the same category. It is not just black and white. Life is never black and white. We will have to live bordering Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Let us be more cautious.

New Appointments Endorsed

LD0810194191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report on the Croatian Assembly session held in Zagreb on 8 October]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Croatian Assembly deputies confirmed that the republican president's decisions have the force of law. The government decisions to recognize Estonia and Lithuania as independent and sovereign states were endorsed again. Following a short discussion, the Assembly adopted a law empowering the Croatian Government to regulate some issues within the powers of the Croatian Assembly. The Assembly endorsed by a majority of votes new appointments to the Croatian Government: Gojko Susak, defense minister; Branko Salaj, information minister; and Anton Marcelo-Popovic, tourism minister. The new Assembly secretary and deputy seceretary were appointed: Andjelko Sikeric and Dragutin (?Last). .In doing so, the deputies have exhausted the proposed agenda. They are due to endorse the draft conclusions.

Proposal To Cut Ties With SFRY

LD0810195191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Draft resolutions submitted for adoption by the joint session of the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb on 8 October; read by Croatian Vice President Vladimir Seks, chairman of the session—recorded]

[Text] Proceeding from the will of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia expressed in the 19 May referendum; proceeding from a constitutional decision on the

sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia and a declaration on the establishment of an independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia, which the Croatian Assembly adopted at the 25 June session; having established that the 3-month moratorium on the constitutional decision set by the Brioni Declaration expired on 7 October 1991; having established that during the moratorium, aggressive actions of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian terrorists against towns and villages have escalated, and that hospitals, schools, churches, monuments, and other civilian buildings were unscrupulously destroyed, which culminated in an attack on the historic heart of Zagreb and on Banski Dvori—when the Presidential residence, the government building and the Assembly building were damaged—and in an assassination attempt on the Republican president; having established that Yugoslavia does not exist as a state community anymore, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia made the following decision at a joint session, held on 8 October 1991:

1. As of 8 October 1991, the Republic of Croatia is severing state and legal ties on the basis of which it had made up the former SFRY together with other republics and provinces.

2. Not a single body of the former SFRY Federation is being considered as a legal and legitimate body.

3. The Republic of Croatia is not acknowledging as valid legal acts of any body representing the former SFRY Federation.

4. The Republic of Croatia is recognizing sovereignty and independence of other republics of the former SFRY on the basis of reciprocity, and it is prepared to establish, nurture, and develop friendly, political, economic, cultural, and other relations with republics with which it is not in armed clashes.

5. The Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent state, will guarantee the fundamental human rights and rights for minorities, mentioned in the UN Basic Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the CSCE instruments, and the Paris Charter; and within the European integration trends, it is ready to enter inter-state and inter-regional associations with other democratic states.

5. [number as heard] The Republic of Croatia will continue to determine mutual rights and obligations regarding the other republics of the former SFRY and the former federation.

This decision takes effect the moment it is voted in. This is a proposal, which a working group of the Assembly Presidium drafted and which is being put forward to the Croatian Assembly for adoption. I ask deputies to vote on this. [applause]

Decision To Secede Adopted

LD0810195991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] At a joint session of all chambers, the Croatian Assembly has, at 1943 [1843 GMT] unanimously adopted a decision to sever all state and legal ties with the SFRY from that moment. This historic moment was followed by the singing of the Croatian national anthem.

Independence, Defense Laws Adopted

LD0810230291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 8 October (TANJUG)—The Croatian Assembly has ended its all day session late this evening by adopting several laws completing the legal aspect of the proclamation of its independent state. Laws on customs, customs duties, and defense are especially interesting. The customs law regulates the protection of the Croatian economy and rights and obligations of subjects in the custom procedure. The entire territory of the Republic of Croatia is declared the Croatian customs area and the customs law is accompanied by the law on customs duties.

The adopted defense law stipulates that Croatia is becoming independent in the military sphere and establishes conditions for the creation of Croatian military forces, whose nucleus is the Croatian National Guard Corps, introduces a single military command, and separates military from police forces. [passage omitted]

Commission Vice President Nominated

LD0810165191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—On behalf of the 31 deputies, Ivan Milas, chairman of the Croatian Assembly commission for appointments and dismissals, proposed to the Assembly today that the election of an Assembly vice president should be included in the agenda. He proposed that former Defense Minister Sime Djodan be elected.

This proposal was strongly opposed by Assembly President Zarko Domljan, who said that it was unacceptable that the Assembly should, unlike any other parliament in the world, acquire a fifth vice president. Moreover, one vice presidential post remains, for political reasons, reserved for a prominent representative of the Serbs in Croatia, Domljan said.

In the sharp exchange which ensued, Sime Djodan warned Domljan that he would "answer in full" for his opposition.

Vice President Speaks on Independence

LD0810214991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1919 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Remarks by Croatian Assembly Vice President Dr. Vladimir Seks, at Croatian Assembly session on Croatian autonomy and independence on 8 October—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, deputies of the Croatian State Assembly:

The Croatian Assembly has approved a decision, one of the rare decisions, of special historic significance for the life of our republic, for the life of the state of Croatia. We have removed the heavy millstone which was hanging and which enveloped us, and which for over 70 years dragged us down into an abyss. We have approved a decision which is identical to the one the Croatian Assembly approved in 1918, breaking off all its relations with sinking Austria. It is the task of our government, of the Croatian Assembly, and of all citizens of Croatia to give life to this decision and to defend Croatian national autonomy, sovereignty, and independence.

I am passing on to the conclusions. The following conclusions are in the first group:

During a joint session of all Chambers, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia on 8 October adopted the following conclusions :

1. An armed aggression has been carried out against the Republic of Croatia by the Republic of Serbia and by the so-called Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The Republic of Croatia has been forced to defend itself against aggression by all the means at its disposal.

2. The so-called YPA has been proclaimed an aggressor and occupying army and must without delay leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia which it has temporarily occupied.

3. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia is asking the former YPA to allow without delay those Croatian citizens performing their military service to leave the Army and freely go back home.

4. The republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro are asked not to allow the use of their state territory for the conduct of a war against the Republic of Croatia.

5. All countries, especially the EC member countries and the United Nations, are invited to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Croatia.

6. With regard to international law, the Republic of Croatia commits itself with regard to other states and organizations to fully comply with the rights and obligations of the former [dosadasnji] SFRY in the part referring to the Republic of Croatia.

7. The Republic of Croatia will continue to participate in the work of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia held under the aegis of the EC member countries.

These conclusions come into force at the time of their adoption.

I would like to provide only a brief explanation relative to these conclusions. The consequences of these conclusions are far-reaching, both legally and politically, especially so point 6, which is based on the Vienna Convention on Succession concerning the succession of a composite state that no longer exists, the distribution of mutual rights and obligations of former property, and of all other controversial relations. Point 7 in substance represents the Republic of Croatia's participation in The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, insofar as it refers to the succession debate.

This is one group of conclusions. The other group is the draft conclusion referring to the draft of a special conclusion by the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia on the defense of Vukovar, signed by a group of 10 deputies. This conclusion appeals that the Assembly should make it binding on all organs and state and military authorities of the Republic of Croatia to secure the necessary resources and forces, and take immediate measures whereby the necessary aid will be provided for the defenders of Vukovar in the defense of their town, and of that part of the territory of the Republic of Croatia so that Vukovar can be defended successfully. This is because the heroic town of Vukovar, as an example of the successful defense of the Republic of Croatia, must not fall.

[Announcer] In addition to Vukovar, a town which is a symbol of the struggle for Croatian independence, the conclusions refer to Dubrovnik as well as to other towns strategically important for the Republic of Croatia, which heroically struggle for the independence and sovereignty of our lovely country.

Zagreb-Belgrade, Adriatic Highways Cut

LD0810120191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0922 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—Traffic is interrupted or very hampered on many roads in Croatia, as the Yugoslav Automobile Association has reported.

Traffic is cut off on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway (E-70) between Kutina and Nova Gradiska, and on the Adriatic main road (E-65) near Zadar and in the Dubrovnik area.

Until further notice, traffic is also interrupted on the highway Ljubljana-Razdrto between Brezovica and Logatec.

No delays were reported on the border crossings this morning.

Judge Says Palace Hit by 'Guided Missile'

LD0810152391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatian television has reported that Bozidar Jovanovic, the investigative judge at the Zagreb district court, said today that "there is no doubt that the [Banski Dvori] presidential palace was hit by a guided missile as parts of a missile were found."

Jovanovic said this following an on-site investigation, in which a team of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs and the regional institute for the protection of monuments took part.

Explosions in Karlovac, Duga Resa Detailed

LD0810182391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The citizens of Karlovac and Duga Resa remain in shelters because of the dangers of artillery attacks. Since 1500, explosions have been reverberating around the town and salvos have been fired from positions held by the Chetniks and the occupation army around Cerovac in the direction of (Logarisce) and (Svarce). The Croatian forces at the southeastern approaches to the town and on the Korana front are holding their positions. The enemy has not crossed the Korana River at any point. There are increased fifth columnist rumors which are totally unfounded.

Dragutin Pribanic, the mayor of Karlovac, has called on all citizens via local radio not to be taken in by the rumors and not to leave the town, because there is no reason to do so. The municipal crisis headquarters is calling on citizens to report to the National Guard Corps for the defense of Karlovac, stating that otherwise, they will be proclaimed deserters.

Zadar, Osijek Quiet Overnight; Fighting in Poljana

LD0910100791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0730 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] For the people of Karlovac and Duga Resa the danger of a possible artillery attack still exists. There were small-scale attacks on the town yesterday afternoon and the enemy used the truce to regroup. It is quiet on the Korana front.

After two weeks an end to the general and air raid alert was sounded in Nova Gradiska at about 0700 this morning. Shelling in the area stopped at about midnight. Yesterday, the fiercest fighting took place around the village of Poljana which the enemy attacked with mortar and infantry weapons from its stronghold in Dragalic. After seven hours of fierce fighting, the Croatian defenders succeeded in thwarting the enemy attack. According to unofficial reports, one guardsman was killed and four injured. The enemy sustained about a dozen dead and several dozen injured.

It was quiet overnight in the Dubrovnik area. Sporadic enemy fire was heard but the Croatian Army did not respond. Dubrovnik remains without water and electricity for the ninth day but municipal services have began operating and life in the town is gradually returning to normal. The people of Dubrovnik and about 10,000 refugees expect the land, sea, and air blockade to cease and that normal communications will be restored.

The Sisak battlefront has been quiet since midnight. But in the light of the past experience and gruesome sufferings of the civilian population in the area, Croatian defenders are holding their positions firmly and are watching the enemy's movements.

Following a relatively quiet night, no major incidents were recorded in Osijek this morning. Shortly after 0100 this morning, the village of Nard came under mortar fire from Baranja. Throughout the night Tenjski Antunovac was attacked with infantry weapons from the Orlovnjak farm.

Zadar was peaceful overnight. Citizens have been asked not to do anything to jeopardize negotiations which started two days ago and which will be resumed today. A state of alert is still in force in Zadar, however, and the people have been asked to move as little as possible. Navy warships, which until recently were engaged in attacks on Zadar, are now positioned along the Vir-Molat naval line.

'Serbian Terrorist' Cease-Fire Violations Noted

LD0810234891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[By correspondent Ana Mudric]

[Text] Judging by reports arriving from the Pakrac battle zone, despite a total communications blockade, the cease-fire was not complied with there today.

Throughout the day firing was heard and there were also mortar attacks on Pakrac, Lipik, and other settlements in the area. One old woman was fatally injured in such a terrorist attack originating from the village of Bujavice against the village of Jamarica. Fire from Serbian terrorist mortars was opened on the village of Brezine too.

Serbian terrorists supported by the occupation army forces on several occasions tried infantry attacks. In the afternoon the Greater Serbian forces' infantry set off in the direction of Lipik, which is firmly held by Croatian forces, in an effort to cross the Pakra River. An attempt to launch an infantry attack was also made from Gornja Obrijez to Donja Obrijez, but Serbian terrorists were stopped by the Croatian army which also repelled the attacks in Veliki Banovac. One Croatian army member was wounded in the fighting.

In the afternoon the Serbian terrorists fired mortar rounds at the Daruvar area as well. In the morning shells fell on Daruvar and Sirac and in the afternoon the mortar fire on Daruvar was repeated. Croatian forces responded to these attacks.

Vukovar Under Attack Despite Cease-Fire

LD0910094491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 9 Oct 91

[By correspondent Vesna Vukovic from Vukovar]

[Text] Despite the latest cease-fire agreement, Vukovar continues to be under the full blockade of the Serbian army whose so-called officers are in no way easing the blockade of the town. Although the night passed more or less peacefully, at 0300 this morning the enemy began a mortar attack from the direction of Petrova Gora. Since 0730, mortar shelling has become more frequent. At daybreak, the enemy switched on tank engines as part of its efforts to redeploy its forces and occupy more favorable positions for renewed attacks.

There has been evidence of increased activity by terrorists positioned in abandoned apartments. They include a large number of fifth columnists. As far as the fifth column is concerned, it should be stressed that they are exceptionally apprehensive because [words indistinct] but there is no return.

Tank engines can also be heard in the area of Borovo Naselje which overnight came under exceptionally heavy fire from several enemy strongholds.

As you can see, there is no peace in Vukovar. The town is under pressure to defend itself with all available means, of which there is no shortage here. The Croatian Army, which controls all the main points in the town and its environs, has no intention of trusting the truce which is being implemented with the sound of tank engines, mortars, and other enemy weapons.

Serb 'Autonomous Regions' Reject Minority Status

LD0810222091 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—The leaders of the two self-proclaimed Serbian autonomous regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia did not arrive in The Hague today, for the scheduled talk with the coordinator of the conference on peace for Yugoslavia, Dutch Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts. The prime ministers of the so-called Serbian autonomous regions of Krajina and of Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, Milan Babic and Goran Hadzic, respectively, have explained their non-appearance with a refusal that Serbs in Croatia should be discussed at The Hague as a minority.

Representing them in The Hague is secretary-general of the non-governmental and non-party world Serbian community Misa Milosevic, who has told the press that it is his task to ensure a direct participation in the conference on Yugoslavia of the representatives of Serbs in Croatia. Milosevic's words to the press indicate that he will today ask Ambassador Wijnaendts that the two Serbian regions participate in the conference on an equal footing and not only within the framework of the mission for the rights of all which, according to him, is "in charge of the problems of ethnic minorities."

He described the application of "any kind of minority logic" as "totally unacceptable," and added that the conflict in Croatia had "broken out precisely because of the Croatian leadership's desire to give to the Serbian nation the status of a minority. Serbs are a majority nation in Yugoslavia and, according to unofficial figures, account for 12 percent of the Croatian population. The population of the self-styled Serbian autonomous regions, which the Croatian authorities have refused to recognize, declared itself in a referendum for remaining in Yugoslavia after Croatia's independence, proclaimed on June 25 and suspended for three months on July 7.

Serbia

Commission Announces Kosovo Referendum Results

AU0810101791 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2215 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The Kosovo Republican Assembly's Central Commission for Conducting the Referendum, on the basis of reports from commissions in the communes, other republics, and countries in West Europe and North America where our compatriots live and work, reports that out of the total number of Kosovo citizens entitled to vote, 914,500 or 87.01 percent went to the polls. Out of this number, 913,750, or 99.87 percent voted in favor of the Republic of Kosovo. A total of 164 votes were against, and 933 ballot papers were invalid. For various reasons, 136,555 citizens, or 12.99 percent of the voters of the Republic of Kosovo, did not go to the polls.

The Kosovo Republican Assembly's Central Commission for Conducting the Referendum observes that the referendum for the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state, held on 26-30 September, was successful. According to the laws of the Republic of Kosovo, a referendum is successful if two-thirds of the total number of citizens entitled to vote participate, and if more than half of those taking part in the referendum vote in favor of independence. The proportion of electors taking part in the referendum for the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state was 87.01 percent, and 99.87 of these voted in favor. The commissions will submit a full report with an analysis of the voting according to communes, polling stations, and ballot papers to a future meeting of the Kosovo Republican Assembly, which will formally declare the results of the referendum and proclaim Kosovo a sovereign and independent republic.

Committees Discuss 'Deteriorating' Situation

AU0810172591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 oct 91

[Text] A joint session of the Committee for Kosovo and Metohija and the Committee for Defense and Security of the Assembly of Serbia is currently taking place in Pristina. They are discussing security conditions, economic developments, and education problems in the province. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports from Pristina:

[Begin Mihajlovic recording] The security situation in Kosovo and Metohija is deteriorating, ethnic intolerance is increasing, and the influence of illegal extremists is

growing. This was stated at the joint session of the two committees of the Serbian Assembly.

The representatives of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, Radoslav Lukic and Obrad Stevanovic note the current activities of the Albanian separatist movement. All actions, starting with the establishment of the illegal Kosovo Assembly, to the so-called referendum for the independent state of Kosovo, are designed to provide legitimacy for the activity of separatists in the creation of an Albanian state.

Although the Ministry of Internal Affairs has information about the illegal creation of an Albanian military leadership almost exclusively from the ranks of the former political prisoners, the separatist movement leadership is advising that further excesses, mass demonstrations, and armed actions be avoided at all costs because, in their opinion, the conditions are not suitable for this.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, as was stated, is achieving good results in suppressing all types of crime in the province. During the last eight months, they have confiscated 13.5 kilograms of drugs, 854 pistols, 482 rifles, eight machine guns and carbines, more than 11,000 rounds of ammunition, and about 450 vehicles. It was noted that Albanian youth is the cheapest way to provide victims for Tudjman, Mesic, and Ante Markovic in their war against Serbs in Croatia.

It was assessed that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia with its cadres and technology is capable of preventing the increasingly serious actions of Albanian separatists in Kosovo and Metohija. The difficult economic conditions in the province were also discussed at the session.

The current divisions between the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins became evident in this gathering as well. There were bitter arguments on this subject. Remarks were made to the effect that certain Kosovo politicians and delegates take advantage of their positions for travel out of the province and for personal gain, which, as was pointed out, gives the impression to the people that Serbia is not ready to fundamentally resolve the problems in the province. The opinion was also heard that the divisions are the product of the power struggle and that they burden the activity of the Republic of Serbia in resolving the problems in the province.

The joint session of the Serbian Assembly Committee for Kosovo and Metohija and the Defense and Security Committee continues. [end recording]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Presidency Supports Neutrality Proclamation

LD0810192291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—At an expanded session today, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed a statement for the public made by President Alija Izetbegovic on 6 October, when Izetbegovic proclaimed on behalf of the Presidency and in his own name that Bosnia-Hercegovina is neutral in the civil war in Yugoslavia. The Presidency, as revealed by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, supported the neutrality proclamation and concluded that the initiative on Bosnia-Hercegovina's neutrality and the republican position on the civil war underway, is in line with previous Presidency conclusions, specifically with its decisions made at the 34th and 39th Presidency sessions.

Apart from the Presidency members, the following attended the session: Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the republican Assembly; Jure Pelivan, president of the government; and Bogic Bogicevic, the member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina,

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency considered that with this position, Bosnia-Hercegovina can best contribute to the easing of tensions and a gradual ending of hostilities. In this sense, the Presidency is convinced that the neutrality proclamation is not just an important political decision, but a moral act. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency will inform the domestic and international public about this decision through appropriate institutions.

Presidency members Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic (both Serbs) hold that there is no basis for Bosnia-Hercegovina to be separated from the SFRY constitutional and legal system, and that it is de jure and de facto impossible to proclaim neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially when, as they claim, Bosnia-Hercegovina and the SFRY are being attacked by illegitimate Croatian units.

Bosnian Croats Support Neutrality

AU0810181491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The best thing for peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be for the Army to withdraw from the territory of this republic. The Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] will submit this demand at the session of the republican Assembly. This was announced at a news conference by the party president, Stjepan Kljujic. Here is Ljubomir Nikolic with a report from Sarajevo:

[Begin Nikolic recording] Alija Izetbegovic's statement on the neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not only his personal opinion, but the result of the work of the republican Presidency. It is difficult, however, to realize neutrality in a situation in which civil authority is not respected, there is an army occupation, and a Serbian Autonomous Region exists in [Bosnian] Krajina. Stjepan Kljujic stated this today, and added that the best solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina would be for the army to be removed from its territory, from where, particularly the airports in Mostar and Banja Luka, it is attacking the Republic of Croatia.

According to Kljujic, the Yugoslav Army is the aggressor, and General Veljko Kadijevic is the greatest culprit. Ante Markovic has only just realized the real intentions and goals of Serbian politicians and the army, Kljujic said, stressing that yesterday's attack on the Banski Dvori Palace in Zagreb was a barbaric act.

The leader of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed the view that the Serbian people are in crisis, caught between Europe and the Balkan spirit. He also expressed the expectation that the Serbian public would [word indistinct] the policy of its leadership.

Stjepan Kljujic today sharply attacked the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia which, as he put it, is calling for democratic authority to be destroyed in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Journalists were handed instructions from this party that are designated strictly confidential and that talk about the organization of a national front of Yugoslavia and its organs and units which would fight for the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. Kljujic asked the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to intervene as regards the signatory of these instructions, Dragan Kecman.

Mariofil Ljubic, vice president of the republican Assembly, said that at the session of both chambers of the republican Assembly the day after tomorrow, the HDZ will demand the neutrality and demilitarization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This republic cannot be a training ground for army attacks on Croatia, Ljubic said. He put forward the claim that ethnic Croatian and Muslim citizens are being arrested and robbed on the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of [Bosnian] Krajina and eastern Hercegovina, and those who do not respond to the mobilization call are being dismissed from their jobs. [end recording]

Party Divisions Threaten Peace in Republic

AU0810170391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 6 Oct 91

[By Ljubomir Nikolic from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] All party and ethnic divisions in Bosnia-Hercegovina have become very obvious lately because of different views on the Army's role in the recent events. The anti-Army campaign of the Party of Democratic Action [PDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] has been going on for some time now, but the antagonism directed not only toward the generals, but also toward the military units, came to a head after the arrival of reservists from Serbia and Montenegro in eastern Hercegovina and the mobilization in Bosnian Krajina. The resulting atmosphere produced a negative reaction such as could have been expected from most members of the Presidency and the government of the republic toward the decisions by the Presidency of Yugoslavia, the Supreme Command.

Alija Izetbegovic is demanding the unconditional return of Bosnia-Hercegovina's soldiers to this republic; Ejup Ganic, Stjepan Kljujic, and other republican officials say the same thing. Even though, as he stresses, he advised Kucan and Tudjman not to recall soldiers from Slovenia and Croatia, because they would make it possible for Serbia to possess the Army, Alija Izetbegovic himself has done this. If I had to choose between chaos and the Army, I would choose the Army, said Izetbegovic recently. He now thinks differently about that, too.

Jure Pelivan, president of the republic's government, said at the meeting of this body: What Yugoslavia? It does not exist any more. He then expressed his bitterness because of the attacks on Croatia by what he called paramilitary formations and the Army units from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In these opinions and attitudes toward the Yugoslav Army, the people in the PDA and CDC are also joined by other politicians. The Alliance of Reform Forces for Bosnia-Hercegovina condemns the behavior of the four members of the Presidency of Yugoslavia. The reaction of the former socialist alliance is similar. Nijaz Durakovic and his supporters have been attacking General Uzelac. This is all being done by people who swore by socialist Yugoslavia and its Army until just yesterday.

In this situation, the Army is supported by the Serbian Democratic Party, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, the Socialist Party, the Party of Yugoslavs, and, of course, a large number of this republic's citizens.

A careful observer of Bosnia-Hercegovina's political situation cannot be surprised by such views. It is clear, in fact, that the two ethnic parties, the PDA and CDC, have been closely related ever since they were established almost a year and a half ago.

What is surprising, however, is their similar views even after the events in Slovenia and Croatia and the desires and efforts expressed, with increasing clarity, to dismantle this country. It is particularly difficult to understand the double standards applied in evaluating cause and effect of the armed conflicts in which a large number of young men from Bosnia-Hercegovina are participating. For example, the presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina did not recall the Muslims and Croats from this republic who serve in the units of the Guard and Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, although there are several thousand of them there and they are dying daily on the battlefields. Nobody ever thought of calling to account those in the PDA and CDC who sent those young men into Tudjman's army, making impossible promises to them.

The authorities have witnessed and helped the arming of more than half a million people in Bosnia-Hercegovina today, and there are increasingly frequent demands for the creation of armies belonging to different parties and for the purchase of heavy weapons for the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina. At

the same time, politicians who attack the Army are worried about peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and accuse others of undermining it.

It is quite clear that today's divisions in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not bring any good to this republic. Encouraged by the successful struggle of the Serbs in Croatia, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs will not give up their desires and intentions not to live in the kind of republic that would go the way of Slovenia and Croatia and become some kind of independent state in which, considering the coalition between the PDA and CDC, they would be in an inferior position.

Muslims and Croats want to be treated equally and have every right to this. It will become evident very soon how Bosnia-Hercegovina will emerge from the present confusion and divisions. For the time being, the most important thing is to preserve peace, because under such conditions, it is easier to achieve the kind of agreements and solutions that will be acceptable for everyone.

Bosnian Krajina Calls For Bogicevic Replacement

AU0810204891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The assembly of the so-called Autonomous Region of Bosnian Krajina today sent a letter to the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina in which it asks for the replacement of Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency from our republic, because of, as cited, his refusal to participate in the work of the highest organ in our country.

Representatives of seventeen communes of the Autonomous Region of Bosnian Krajina, as the letter says, unanimously and energetically demand that Bogic Bogicevic be replaced at the session of the republican parliament scheduled for 10 October, and Dr. Nikola Koljevic, who won more than a million Serbian votes at the first multiparty elections, be elected in his place.

At the end of the letter, it is said that any unbalanced voting in the Assembly is out of the question, and the representatives of all parliamentary parties would have the right to vote as long as they were of Serbian nationality. (?Otherwise), the letter states, the Autonomous Region of Bosnian Krajina proposes that [words indistinct] of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement give a vote of no-confidence to the presidents of the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic and Jure Pelivan.

Thousands of Mostar Citizens Demonstrate

LD0810191291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Mostar, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—Over 10,000 Mostar inhabitants, mainly students, responded to the appeal by the club of Mostar Intellectuals [Klub Intelektualaca Mostara] to take part in an action entitled Let Us Stop Them Before They End Our Lives. The result was that by blocking the traffic and stopping cultural, economic, and sports life between 1200 and 1300 the commitment was expressed that war destruction be stopped and that civilized, peaceful, and tolerant life for all people be made possible regardless of their political, ideological, national, and religious commitments and membership.

Throughout the town the people of Mostar demonstrated that they support peace and freedom. The few incidents with which some people tried to degrade the action did not succeed in spoiling the effect of this peace demonstration.

Macedonia

Gligorov: War in Croatia Not Recognized

LD0910012791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0041 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Bitola, Oct 8 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov said tonight that his republic did not recognize the war being waged in Croatia and was, "instead of war, offering a peaceful settlement, democratic dialogue and political agreement."

Speaking in the Macedonian city of Bitola, Gligorov said that "in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav politicians are rocketed, and neighbours and friends are shot at with unprecedented ease." According to Gligorov, the Macedonian public rightfully asks whether there is any hope for reason and peace in these parts following yesterday's reports on the firing of rockets at the Croatian presidential palace, Banski Dvori, in Zagreb. "Therefore we in Macedonia this time repeat that it is not our war and we do not recognize it," Gligorov said.

Foreign Minister Concludes Visit to Turkey

AU0810111791 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Turkey supports the territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia. This was stated tonight at Petrovec Airport near Skopje by Dr. Denko Malevski, minister of foreign relations of the Republic of Macedonia, on his return from a one-day visit to Ankara where he held talks with Turkish Foreign Minister Safa Giray. Minister Malevski handed to the Turkish foreign minister a message from President Kiro Gligorov for the president of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal.